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CONTENTS

CENTRAL AFRICA	PAGE	SOUTHERN AFRICA	PAGE
CONGO—Congo-U.N. Relations: Leaders' Conference and Mr. Tshombe's Arrest: Discussions and Resolutions in the U.N.: Mr. Gizenga on Communism: Effect on Big Business: Comment	217 218 219 220	HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES—Economic Development and the Commonwealth: Basuto Leader's Resignation: Basutoland Strike: Bechuanaland's Capital: Swaziland Progressive Party: Economic Survey of Swaziland	234 235 235 236
RUANDA-URUNDI—Federation Proposed: Background Facts	220	SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF—Republican Constitution: Commonwealth Withdrawal: Commons Debate: United Nations: Citizenship Question: Mr. Macmillan's Speech: Attitude of Dutch Reformed Churches: Natal Convention: Pietermaritzburg Conference: Treason Trial Ends: Demonstrations and Arrests: S.A.B.C. and Press Freedom: Crime and Police Reorganization: Citizen Force Strengthened: Economic Scene	237 237 240 241 242 243 244 245
NYASALAND—Before the Elections: "Calm in Malawi Land"	221 221	SOUTH WEST AFRICA—Voting at U.N.; Parliamentary Discussion: S.W.A. Election: Windhoek Trial: Political Parties Grow	245 246 247
RHODESIA, NORTHERN—Comment on Constitution: Mr. Kaunda's Overseas Tour: Europeans Join U.N.I.P.: Kafue Scheme: Congress Leader Imprisoned: Death Sentences Imposed	222 222 223 223	WEST AFRICA	
RHODESIA, SOUTHERN—N.D.P. and the Constitution: N.D.P. and the Land Question: N.D.P. Leader's Successful Appeal: Freehold Rights for Africans: European Settlement Scheme: Passes Abolished: Judicial System Criticized: Comment on the Constitution: Intimidation: Economic Situation: Expenditure on Education	223 223 224 224 224 225	ANGOLA—Mounting Crisis: Portuguese Reprisals	247
RHODESIA AND NYASALAND, FEDERATION OF—Sir Roy's Warning: Resignations from Political Parties: Trade Figures: Survey of Health Services	227 227 227	CAMEROONS—Unification	249
EAST AFRICA		DAHOMEY—One Party Government	250
American Teachers	228	GAMBIA—Future Relations with Senegal: Constitutional Progress	250 250
ETHIOPIA—Consequences of Revolt	228	GHANA—The President Speaks at Dawn: Cabinet and Party Changes: Company Law Report	250 252
KENYA—Formation of Government: Jomo Kenyatta: Election Results: The Economy: Detainees: African Farming Schemes	228 230 231	GUINEA—Nationalized Trading Ends	252
SOMALI REPUBLIC—Presidential Address: Students in Moscow	231 232	MALI—Relations with France	252
TANGANYIKA—New Cabinet: Road to Independence: T.A.N.U. Council Changes: Relations with South Africa	232 233 233	NIGER—In Search of an Africa Society	253
UGANDA—The Elections: New Government: Buganda's Future: New Church Province	233 234	NIGERIA—Elections in North: New Region: Mr. Sandy's Visit: Ashby Report Adopted: Economic Prospects	253 253
PAN-AFRICAN AFFAIRS		SIERRA LEONE—Independence	255
Third All-African Peoples' Conference		GENERAL	
GENERAL		Ghana, Guinea and Mali: Transport in Africa	256
AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES		Cover iv	

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CENTRAL AFRICA Congo

Congo-U.N. Relations

By the end of March relations between the Congo Central Government and the United Nations were very poor, President Kasavubu having said the U.N. troops should withdraw and leave the Congo to its own problems. Mr. Joseph Ileo said that if the U.N. resolution of February 21st was implemented his Government would revolt and the U.N. would bear the consequences. Mr. Ileo asserted that "events have overtaken the resolution". Civil war was no longer a danger since the Tananarive talks.

Mr. Ileo spoke out bitterly against the return to Leopoldville of India's Rajeshwar Dayal, Dag Hammarskjöld's special Congo representative. He said there was no way of having collaboration with the U.N. while Mr. Dayal was there.

The Katanga Government said that the arrival of Indian U.N. troops in the province "could mean a declaration of war". The Katanga Government described the movement of Indian troops as a deliberate attempt to sabotage the solution of the Congo problems worked out by Congolese leaders at their conference at Tananarive; it said that India pursued "colonialistic and imperialistic" aims in the Congo. (*Guardian*, April 3.)

Anti-U.N. feelings in Katanga flared up when, on April 4, thousands of Africans armed with pangas and muzzle-loading rifles marched on Elisabethville airport and tore down the U.N. flag, broke telephone wires and smashed windows.

The Africans marched on the airport after President Moise Tshombe had told a crowd of 6,000 that he had reached agreement with the U.N. that Katanga forces and U.N. troops should share guarding the airport. He said the agreement meant that Katanga troops would guard the military part and U.N. troops the civilian side. Earlier, Mr. Tshombe had mobilized the entire population of Katanga province after Swedes had disarmed and arrested Katanga troops and police who tried to take over the airport. He had described the "actions of the United Nations in our country" as a cause for war. He told the crowd that all contacts with the U.N. soldiers and civilians were banned, and that if he had not been able to come to an agreement with the U.N. over the control of the airport he would have asked them to go to the airport and capture it.

An eyewitness report from the airfield said that the Africans arrived in a mass. The Swedish troops, armed with Bren guns and bayonets, were unable to hold the main entrance to the airport. The arrival of the Katanga police calmed the crowd. The police re-established order and took over the Swedes' guard positions. (*The Times*, April 5.)

The following day President Tshombe announced that agreement had been reached with General Sean McKeown, the Irish commander of the U.N. forces, on the re-establishment of "normal relations" between U.N. personnel and the Katanga people in the town. The U.N. sent 150 Irish troops to take over airport duties from the Swedish soldiers and strengthened the base at Kamina with a further 400 Indian troops.

On April 10, Ethiopian troops of the U.N. captured and disarmed 32 Katanga White mercenaries in the North Katanga town of Kabalo. A

Katanga Government communique said some 30 Katanga troops who had landed at the airport had been encircled by 200 or 300 Ethiopians and agreed to retire. They were disarmed, driven to the station, and there handed back to the Katanga forces. The Government added that opposition to the entry of Katanga forces into Kabalo had come "solely from the U.N. forces".

In Elisabethville U.N. officials learnt that the Katanga Government had frozen their accounts in local banks. They found it difficult to buy food and other vital supplies, including petrol for aircraft. (*The Times*, April 12.)

The U.N. forces continued their attempts to prevent the strengthening of Katanga forces at Kabalo. They seized a charter aircraft, which they alleged flew more than 7 tons of arms and ammunition. The aircraft's crew, who were believed to be German, were not detained, as the U.N. authorities were satisfied that the airmen were unaware of the exact nature of the shipment until they were in the air. Despite a stiff request from President Tshombe for the return of the plane, U.N. Indian troops continued to hold them at Katanga base in West Katanga.

President Kasavubu, however, formally announced on April 17, that the Congolese Government was willing to co-operate with the U.N. He had reached an agreement with the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, under which the Congo would accept the much disputed Security Council resolutions of February 21 which gave the U.N. troops authority to use force to prevent a civil war, and offered U.N. aid in reorganizing and retraining the Congolese armed forces.

President Kasavubu said that the U.N. would help the Congolese to train technical and administrative personnel, and also in reorganizing the Congo army—but he insisted that each stage of the reorganization would be under his own authority. He hoped that the presence of U.N. troops in the Congo would become "superfluous within a few months", and he hoped that the U.N. would also be able to reduce the number of its civilian technicians. Mr. Kasavubu ended by saying: "There can be no doubt of our intention to co-operate with those (in the U.N.) who come to us as friends, who try to understand and help us. But to others, I say firmly: 'Stay where you are, or go back where you come from. You cannot count on help from me or my ministers.'"

Observers took this as a clear warning against the return of Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal of India as United Nations special representative in the Congo. (*Guardian*, April 18.)

Leaders' Conference and Mr. Tshombe's Arrest

President Kasavubu and Prime Minister Ileo of the Central Government were joined at Coquilhatville in Equateur Province by President Tshombe at a meeting of leaders held on April 23. President Tshombe, however, walked out of the conference two days later, declining to co-operate further unless President Kasavubu renounced his agreement with the U.N.

When the President and his Foreign Minister, Mr. E. Kimba, tried to leave Coquilhatville by air they were surrounded by Congolese. At first it was reported that they would be released the following day, but when there was no further news the Katanga Government, sent an urgent message to President Kasavubu, and General Mobutu, the army chief, asking for immediate clarification.

The Congolese Foreign Ministry said that reports that Mr. Tshombe

*DIGEST VIII, 5.

had been arrested were "completely unfounded": in fact he "had been prevented by popular reaction" from returning to Elisabethville as long as no reconciliation had been reached at the Coquihaville conference. His life was not in danger. (*Guardian*, April 29.)

On April 30, Mr. Bomboko, the Congolese Foreign Minister, announced that Mr. Tshombe was in a villa on the edge of this town, surrounded by General Mobutu's commandos. He described the Katanga leader's detention as "house surveillance" but emphasized that he would remain under guard at all times. "We are responsible for his security if anyone should try to assassinate him," he said.

The conference of Congolese leaders, he said, had authorized President Kasavubu, leader of the Leopoldville Government, to take "immediate necessary measures to rid Katanga of occupation by mercenaries and harmful foreign elements". It had called for the disarmament of "all private armies", which, he explained, meant all units not recognizing the authority of the Commander-in-Chief of the National Army, General Joseph Mobutu. Tshombe, he said, had posed unacceptable conditions on his arrival at Coquihaville. In demanding the renunciation of the agreement with the U.N. he had broken all the decisions of the Tananarive conference which had become a "ridiculous put-up job". (*Guardian*, April 29.)

The Central Government then asked U.N. help to disarm Mr. Tshombe's gendarmerie and to get rid of foreign soldiers and advisers in Katanga. The U.N. has never concealed its dislike for Mr. Tshombe or its desire for Congo unity. The position taken by the Central Government leaves some doubt whether he will ever be allowed to return to Katanga. (*The Times*, May 1.)

The Katanga Government appealed to the U.N. for their President's immediate release. It also urged the U.N. to organize a new conference of Congolese leaders "with all guarantees of immunity for the participants".

A three-page appeal sent to Mr. Hammarskjöld, the U.N. Secretary-General, and "all governments" said that Katanga was ready to start talks with the chief U.N. officer in the area on ways of implementing the Security Council's resolution authorizing U.N. troops to use force if necessary to prevent civil war in the Congo. (*Guardian*, May 2.)

In Britain questions were asked in the House of Commons, and Mr. Anthony Fell (Conservative) asked the Lord Privy Seal whether, as the United Kingdom was bearing a very large part of the burden of the cost of the Congo operations, he would make urgent representations to Mr. Hammarskjöld to intervene in the release of Mr. Tshombe, otherwise Katanga as well might collapse.

Mr. R. T. Paget (Labour) asked that strong representations be made that the kidnapping of the head of a province, who was attending a conference under safe conduct, is a most disgraceful thing and certainly ought not to be done. Mr. E. Heath, Lord Privy Seal, replied: "We have constantly urged that there should be a meeting of leaders from the Congo in order to reach agreement about the future of that country. Anything that interferes with conciliation between leaders is regrettable." (*Hansard*, May 1.)

In Elisabethville the Katanga Minister of the Interior called a high-level conference to preserve public calm. Representatives of the Belgian concern that runs the Katanga mines were at the talks. Most Europeans here believe that a U.N. plan to bring Katanga to heel and to assure that its wealth is made available to the whole Congo is now in full operation. (*Guardian*, May 2.)

Foreign Minister Mr. Justin Bomboko announced on May 8 that Mr. Tshombe was to be tried on charges of high treason. He said the Central Government in Leopoldville would use all available means—including force if necessary—to liberate the province of Katanga.

General Mobutu was present at Mr. Bomboko's Press conference and indicated his agreement when Mr. Tshombe was accused of assassination of political prisoners and massacre of the Baluba peoples of Katanga. Mr. Bomboko mentioned the former Premier, M. Lumumba, specially in this connexion. "Lumumba should have been tried for his offences but the Katanga authorities executed him outright," he said. Mr. Bomboko went on to accuse Mr. Tshombe of rebellion against the Central Government of President Kasavubu under specific direction from foreign elements; the

outright theft of planes, ammunition, and monetary reserves belonging to the Leopoldville Government, and counterfeiting, which was punishable by imprisonment with hard labour.

M. Godfroid Munongo, the Katanga Minister of the Interior, appeared to be in control in Tshombe's absence. (*Guardian*, May 8.)

Discussions and Resolutions in the United Nations

Three resolutions came before the General Assembly in its debates on the situation in the Congo. One, sponsored by seventeen African and Asian nations and Yugoslavia, demanded that all Belgian and other foreign military and para-military personnel and political advisers not under the U.N. Command, and also all "mercenaries", be completely withdrawn from the Congo within twenty-one days, failing which "necessary action should be taken" in accordance with the U.N. Charter.

The second resolution—sponsored by sixteen African and Asian countries—dealt with the future of the Congo itself, and called upon the Congolese authorities "to desist from attempting a military solution to their problems". It also provided for the appointment by the Assembly President, Frederick H. Boland, of a seven-member "Commission of Conciliation" which would "assist the Congolese leaders to achieve recognition and to end the political crisis".

The third resolution was put by the Soviet Union, and recommended a twenty-one day limit be set for the convening of the Congolese Parliament, under the protection of "the forces sent to the Republic of the Congo in accordance with the decision of the Security Council". (*U.N. News*, April 10.)

The Assembly adopted resolutions sponsored by groups of African and Asian countries, but decisively rejected the Soviet resolution by a vote of twenty-nine in favour, fifty-three against, and seventeen abstentions.

On the other hand, the Assembly also rejected by a narrow margin, that part of an Afro-Asian resolution which would have favoured the applying of sanctions against Belgium if it failed to comply with the demand for the withdrawal of its military and para-military staff. The vote on this was forty-nine in favour, twenty-six against, with twenty-four abstentions, and it thus fell short by only a few votes of the two-thirds majority which would otherwise have made it effective.

The Assembly set up two new *ad hoc* bodies; one the seven-member commission of conciliation to be taken by the Assembly's president "to assist the Congolese leaders to achieve reconciliation and to end the political crisis", and the other a legal commission of four to investigate the circumstances of the death of Mr. Patrice Lumumba and his colleagues.

Other salient features of the resolutions adopted concerned the immediate release of all members of the Congolese Parliament and other political leaders now under detention and the convening of Parliament "without delay".

On the key clause of a resolution asking for effective measures to be taken by the Secretary-General to prevent the introduction of arms into the Congo except in conformity with U.N. decisions, the Assembly voted eighty-three in favour and eleven against, with five abstentions. (*The Times*, April 14.)

Finance

Provisions for financing the U.N. operations in the Congo until the end of next October were adopted by the General Assembly on April 22 in an amended resolution by a vote of fifty-four to fifteen with twenty-three abstentions. The resolution provided for an appropriation of \$100 million to cover the period January 1 to October 31, 1961. The money is to be contributed by U.N. Member States in proportion to their assessments for the regular annual budget of the U.N., subject to stipulated reductions, in the case of countries with low assessments, or receiving U.N. technical assistance. The reductions would be offset by voluntary contributions, on the need for which the resolution lays considerable emphasis.

The resolution stressed the "special responsibility" of the five permanent members of the Security Council to contribute to the financing of peace and security operations. It also called for "a substantial contribution" from Belgium, "a State directly concerned with the situation in the

Republic of the Congo". In providing the \$100 million sum for the ten-month period January to October, the resolution endorses the general recommendation of the Assembly's standing Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Affairs that the Congo costs for the year 1961 be held to a total of \$120 million.

During the Assembly debate, Mr. Klutznick reiterated an offer by the United States to make a voluntary contribution of \$15 million to the Congo costs, provided the resolution apportioning the expenses were adopted. Mr. Klutznick pointed out that when this voluntary sum was added to the \$32,510,000 which would be the United States assessment under the resolution, the United States would be contributing altogether \$47,510,000 of the proposed \$100 million appropriation.

Throughout the debates, Mr. A. A. Roschin of the Soviet Union reiterated the U.S.S.R.'s contention that the discussion was "undermining" the U.N. Charter, since the whole question fell within the competence of the Security Council, and hence was outside the jurisdiction of the Assembly. He reaffirmed his Government's refusal to contribute to the Congo costs, maintaining the Soviet Union's contention that the operation was being conducted for the benefit of "colonialist" interests. (*U.N. News*, May 2.)

Mr. Roschin pointed out that the U.N. staff in the Congo consisted mostly of representatives of N.A.T.O. countries. In the apparatus of the personal representative of the Secretary-General he said, sixty-two of the ninety-five members were citizens of states belonging to Western military blocs. There were only two from African states and none from the Socialist countries. Sixty per cent of the U.N. military staff personnel in the Congo were also citizens of Western countries. "Is it surprising, therefore, that the task of aiding the Government of the Congo Republic in repulsing the aggression of the Belgian colonialists has been turned the other way round?" the Soviet delegate asked. "Aid was indeed rendered, but not to the Congo Government in its fight against the colonialists, but to the colonialists in their efforts to depose the legitimate government." (*Soviet News*, April 6.)

Troops

U.N. forces in the Congo numbered approximately 18,000 at the end of April: 8,500 were in Northern Katanga and at Kamina air base there were nearly 3,000 Indians, and another 1,000 are being flown in. In Northern Katanga there are also some 2,000 Nigerians, 800 Ethiopians, 600 Swedes, and 200 Malaysans. In Elisabethville there are 600 Irish troops, with another two companies on the way.

Commenting on the number of Commonwealth citizens among the mercenaries held at Kamina, a Foreign Office spokesman said: "The U.N. now inform us that there are twenty-six Commonwealth citizens in this party, of whom twelve hold United Kingdom passports and fourteen are South Africans. None is a citizen of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland." (*The Times*, April 24.)

Mr. Gizenga on Communism

Interviewed in Stanleyville by *Le Monde*, Congolese Vice-Premier Gizenga denied suggestions that he had Communist leanings. He had been to Moscow once, but to Western countries more often; his régime was heading for Socialism of an African type. "Our foreign policy is based on positive neutrality," he said. Like other underdeveloped countries, he sought aid and friendship from East and West. Last July, "during Belgian aggression against us, Lumumba and I had appealed in the first place to the United States. It astonishes me that these same men who had refused their aid, thus pushing us towards the U.S.S.R., today accuse us of Communism."

He said he had neither counsellors, technicians nor arms from abroad. Asked why Communist or neutralist countries had not come to his aid, he said: "Nobody seems ready to make the first move." Less than ten of the twenty countries which had recognized his régime as the legitimate government had signified it officially in writing; he could not remember whether the U.S.S.R. was one of these.

He added that if the emergency created by the blockade of his territory required it, he might requisition certain property, with due compensation, but he did not envisage nationalization "as we consider that private enter-

prise, with certain exceptions, is an adjunct of freedom". The only solution for the Congo was a return to legality. He had suggested to the U.N. that a neutral zone be set aside "somewhere in the Congo" for the meeting of Parliament, while all Congolese forces in that area yielded their weapons to the U.N. (*West Africa*, April 1.)

Mr. Kamitatu, president of the Leopoldville provincial government, said after conferring in Stanleyville with Mr. Gizenga, that Mr. Gizenga was anxious to negotiate as soon as possible with Mr. Iléo but he was still opposed to the idea of a Congo federation. (*The Times*, April 7.)

Effect on Big Business

Mr. George Cole, chairman of Unilever Ltd., reviewing the company's business during the past year, said: "We have three main businesses in the Congo. First, Marsavco, a company which makes and sells soap, margarine, and edible oils. It has been operating since 1922. Its sales have run recently at about £1,400,000 per annum and . . . in 1960, in spite of everything it achieved nearly 90 per cent of that figure.

"Next, there is Sedec, our trading business. . . . It operates under its own name and, through subsidiaries, throughout the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. It deals in manufactured goods, including motors, and in the natural produce of the country. It touches the life of the people at many points and its operations are of a kind essential to a rising standard of living. . . .

"The other main side of Sedec's business is in produce for export. The main commodities are palm oil and palm kernels, but there is also a substantial trade in coffee, particularly from Ruanda-Urundi. . . . As well as the things I have mentioned, Sedec's produce trade covers the buying and marketing abroad of a great deal else—hides and skins, for instance, and rubber, cocoa and various oilseeds.

"Sedec . . . has recently had a turnover running at about £25 million a year, divided between manufactured goods and produce roughly in the proportion four to one.

"I turn now to our third business, our heaviest capital commitment, Plantations Lever au Congo. We have about 150,000 acres under cultivation, an area rather larger than Middlesex, and we regularly harvest 225,000 acres of natural palmeries as well. Besides that we have a substantial interest in Cultures au Congo S.A., and Plantations de Bokonge, which have, in all, some 43,000 acres more. . . . Individual plantations . . . vary between 8,000 and 38,000 acres each. . . .

"Events in the Congo that you read of in two successive paragraphs of your newspaper may be happening in places as far apart as are Madrid and Berlin, Ostend and Istanbul, or Tunis and London. . . .

"Our plantation enterprise is run as a profit-earner in its own right, and the profit it makes is directly dependent on market prices. It is not concerned with who eventually uses its produce, and much of what we grow is in any case of no use to any Unilever company as raw material. We make more money out of rubber than out of palm oil; we grow cocoa and coffee, and we have made a start with tea. Altogether, last year, our Congo plantations yielded over 90,000 tons of produce worth nearly £7 million. . . .

"What happened following the granting of Independence in the Congo last year was a major disaster. As the country stood on the eve of independence, it had a stable administration, one currency and free trade throughout the whole area. These were not advantages to be despised anywhere, least of all in that part of Equatorial Africa where the mineral resources of some provinces balanced the purely agricultural character of others. As things stand now, the country is split, in fact if not in law, into mutually hostile fragments, with separate governments and separate currencies. The movement of money and of goods has been impeded, partly by the multiplication of currencies and partly by physical obstacles such as the blockade of the Congo river. To all this has been added insecurity of life and property because the administration of law and the maintenance of order have been uncertain and fragile. Our worst difficulties have arisen in Orientale Province and Kivu and along the uncertain frontiers of those areas. . . .

"Other parts of the country are calmer, but they suffered disorder in the first months of the troubles. We endured damage and looting, especially in Sedec stores, and in the general terror of the time some of Sedec's

customers fled, leaving bad debts behind them. Some have come back and paid what they owed, and things do not now look so black as eight months ago. In the longer term Sedec's most serious difficulty will be the replacement of merchandise that can only be obtained abroad. Except for the Katanga the Congo's economic plight has created a scarcity of foreign exchange, and one result is that many lines of goods cannot be replenished as stocks run down. This is a serious state of affairs for our business. . . .

"In spite of all the adversities I have been talking about, things are calm in a great part of the country, and Sedec is indeed at this moment making profits but in local currency. The plantation results are dependent on our ability to ship the existing stocks, and the signs are that we may be able to do so. Altogether the African outlook is less dark than one might think."

Press Comment

Le Monde (May 3) commented: "Information coming from the Congo leaves us in no doubt as to the reasons for Mr. Tshombe's detention. He is held by his old allies in Leopoldville who, after having succeeded, with the help of the Katanga leader, in removing Patrice Lumumba from the political scene, are now engaged in a trial of strength to bring to an end Katanga's independence. . . .

"Everything seems to indicate that the Congo Prime Minister plans to use the presence of the U.N. to re-establish his authority over the whole country. The detention of Mr. Tshombe's party of six has been explained in Leopoldville as being in accordance with the Security Council resolution of February 21, calling for the departure of all Belgians in Government or military positions in the Congo."

An article in *Le Soir* (May 3) said that some observers believed that a plan guided by Belgium to re-establish a unitary state was behind Mr. Tshombe's presence at the opening of the Coquilhatville conference. But the view of the majority of those who had looked on at events surrounding the meeting believed that no concrete plan was possible in the unstable political atmosphere of Coquilhatville. Success or failure depended largely on Mr. Bomboko and Mr. Adoula. President Kasavubu was carefully swimming with the tide and other forces were neutralized.

Alerie (March 3) accused India of planning to settle 2 million Indians in the Congo, and stated that through Mr. Dayal they had agreed to support Mr. Lumumba in his desperate efforts to regain power in a central government. This paper accused the Indians of exploiting their position at the U.N. in exchange for a bargain which might have eventually delivered the Congo over to Soviet domination.

The *Observer* (May 7) said: "Against all expectations, the steady decline into chaos of the Congo, after proceeding ever since the territory aborted its independence last June, seems now to have stopped. This does not mean that all is necessarily going to turn out well; whether it does so will depend as much on the ability of the Congolese leaders to avoid further rash mistakes as on the willingness of other nations to take their fingers out of this pie and allow the U.N. officials an opportunity to do the job that they have been asked to do.

"This applies particularly to Belgium, Britain and the United States, all of which have played an active and influential role. Unlike the Soviet bloc and France, these three countries overtly support the role of the U.N. in the Congo. But while they have defended Mr. Hammarskjöld from the attacks of the Communists, they have, at the same time, helped to undermine the U.N. authority in the Congo.

"One example of this is the flagrant attempt by the State Department to induce Mr. Hammarskjöld not to send his personal representative, Mr. Dayal, back to the Congo, in open violation of Article 100 of the U.N. Charter. This article guarantees the Secretary-General's right to choose his own staff. Unfortunately, Britain's role in this conflict seems to have been a dubious one.

"One result of this dispute (and of the flouting of U.N. decisions by the last Belgian Administration) has been to encourage Congolese leaders, especially Mr. Tshombe, to resist the implementation of U.N. decisions. Fortunately, the majority of the Congolese leaders seem now to have come to realize that their best future lies in working with the U.N. . . .

"Equally hopeful has been the recognition by the supporters of the late Mr. Patrice Lumumba of the necessity to negotiate with their op-

ponents to achieve a federal constitution to embrace the whole of the country, including Katanga. Only Mr. Tshombe and his supporters oppose these policies.

"Mr. Tshombe's dissidence underlies much of the trouble experienced in the Congo. His strength has depended largely on Belgian military aid and on his control of the Congo's real wealth. It is easy to understand, therefore, why his exasperated colleagues should have detained him at Coquilhatville. But his arrest is no more legal than was that of Mr. Lumumba."

The Guardian (May 8) commented: "Opinions about the Congo turn on Moise Tshombe. How far is he to be thanked for keeping the peace in Elisabethville, allowing the mines to work, running a stable administration with foreign help, and salvaging some African dignity from the collapse? And how far is he to be condemned for his troops' ravages against the Baluba, for the death of Lumumba, for destroying the Congo's unity by secession, and for undermining its economy by usurping the Congo's funds?

"Politically Tshombe has done immense harm by bolstering up an anti-Congolese State by European army officers and advisers. Whether or not he is a Belgian puppet he has behaved like one, and relations between Black and White in Africa are so delicate that any suspicion of European domination in a new form serves only to prevent true co-operation between the races from coming about. Judicially it is now for a Congolese court to say whether he has committed any crimes. Unlike Lumumba he is not to be shot by unknown villagers."

Commenting on Mr. Tshombe's arrest *The Economist* (May 13) said: "Mr. Hammarskjöld has very properly warned his captors of the serious implications of their action. The Secretary-General did not wait to be nudged by a British Government which has itself been nudged by a 'Tshombe lobby' including Rhodesian backwoods peers and other interested parties. The U.N.'s representatives have never been in doubt about their duty to oppose political kidnapping. It is too often forgotten that they protected Mr. Lumumba from it, until he rashly forsook their protection and fell into his enemies' hands. But they have no better means of rescuing Mr. Tshombe now than they had of crushing him at Mr. Lumumba's behest last year.

"The prudent Mr. Adoula, Minister of the Interior in Mr. Iléo's provisional government, has already qualified his colleagues' loud talk of trying Mr. Tshombe for crimes committed long before they welcomed him to a place of honour at Coquilhatville. It was hard to take talk of a trial seriously; the Congo has no judges. But there is at least some possibility of constructive progress as a result of this chapter of accidents. Breaking with Mr. Tshombe, President Kasavubu and his ministers have begun to try to make some sense out of their crazy relations with the U.N.; alarmed by his fate, the remaining Katanga leaders have come halfway down off their high horse in the same respect. Obviously unintended, ethically no doubt deplorable, Mr. Tshombe's detention may yet prove a timely catalyst."

Ruanda-Urundi

Federation Proposed

KING MWAMI KIGERI V of Ruanda and Crown Prince Louis Rwangasore of Urundi, in a joint declaration issued in Dar-Es-Salaam have urged federation with Tanganyika "with the least possible delay".

King Kigeri was "deposed" in January by what he called "a group of burgomasters". He had been out of his country since July. The declaration on the proposed federation is being sent to the U.N., and to the Belgian, British, and Tanganyika Governments. It expressed the hope that such a federation should take place before December 28—the date on which Tanganyika is due to achieve independence.

Both Mwami Kigeri and the Crown Prince expressed agreement with the non-racial policies of Mr. Julius Nyerere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, and intimated that Belgian settlers in the trust territory would be welcome to remain after independence.

Mr. Nyerere, commenting on the declaration, said: "Tanganyika

would certainly welcome a federation with Ruanda-Urundi but the desire for it must come from the people themselves." (*Accra Daily Graphic*, April 8.)

Background Facts

Ruanda-Urundi is a poor and overpopulated country (more than 4.6 million inhabitants with a density of 86 persons per square kilometre for Ruanda-Urundi as a whole). The annual rate of increase of 2.8 per cent, which would double the population in thirty years, poses serious problems for which no solution can be seen for the moment.

Estimated revenue during 1960 was 992 million Congolese francs, and expenditure 1,400 million Congolese francs, the deficit being met by an advance of 400 million francs from Belgium. (Fifty francs equals \$1.)

Education costs had risen from 115 million francs in 1955 to 349 million in 1960. This was mainly due to the increase in the number of primary school classes, the establishment and expansion of secondary, technical and agricultural education, the establishment of a Department of Agriculture at the University of Astrida, the increasing share assumed by the Government in the expenses of the subsidized private schools, and the increase in ordinary and overseas scholarships. (*Report on Ruanda-Urundi*, U.N. 1960.)

Nyasaland

Before the Elections

THE total number of people who will be qualified to vote in the general elections is 110,432. Of this 106,095 had registered on the lower roll, and 4,337 on the upper roll. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 28.)

According to draft election regulations tabled in the Legislative Council, candidates must be at least 25 years old and able to write and speak English. They must have lived in the territory for two out of the past four years, and must be registered voters. They can only stand for election on the roll for which they are registered as voters. A Nyasaland Government spokesman said on March 20 it had been learned that Dr. Banda, who had encouraged his Malawi supporters to register on the upper voters' roll for the forthcoming general election in the Territory, had registered as a lower roll voter. This means that he must now stand as a lower roll candidate under the draft election regulations. (*Federation Newsletter*, March 31.)

Mr. J. R. D. Chinyama, M.L.C., and Mr. B. W. Chijozi, M.L.C., have joined the United Federal Party. Mr. Chinyama and Mr. Chijozi have resigned from the Congress Liberation Party led by Mr. T. D. T. Banda. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 21.)

The Congress Liberation Party and the Christian Democratic Party, led by Mr. Chester Katsonga, have merged to form the Christian Liberation Party. Mr. Banda will lead the new Party, with Mr. Katsonga as his deputy. Mr. Banda said at a meeting held in Blantyre that the two Parties had joined together to form an effective opposition to the Malawi Congress Party, led by Dr. Hastings Banda. (*Federal Newsletter*, April 7.)

"Calm in Malawi Land"

In a special article, *The Economist* (April 29) described the changed atmosphere in Nyasaland (Malawi) over the past six months. This change was marked recently by the change of governors at the beginning of April, and Sir Robert Armitage left the country in a political mood which he personally had encouraged.

"Malawi's contribution to the new mood was a farewell dinner party on April 4 for Sir Robert, who sat on a raised platform between the Great Kamuzu (Dr. Banda) and Mr. Dunduza Chisiza, secretary-general of the Malawi Congress Party. They were flanked by Lady Armitage and Mr. Orton Chirwa, who was on his very best behaviour. His compering befitting a member of the English Bar, although it may have surprised guests who had seen him at nationalist meetings. There was not a whisper of murder plots, Devlin, or detention. Dr. Banda was full of praise for Sir Robert and reminders that political enemies can be personal friends. Sir Robert

almost rose to the occasion; his pleasant little talk was like that of a headmaster telling his school that if it were not for the canings and the lines these splendid boys would not have become the men they are today. It was the first real meeting between Blantyre society—Black, White and Asian—and Malawi. No one left without calling it an 'historic occasion' and, indeed, in the history of Nyasaland it was.

"But the Whites have not yet come to trust Malawi. Some are feeling their way; others are certain that the country is doomed. . . .

"At the end of 1960 Nyasaland boasted 33 citizens with degree or professional qualifications; 43 Africans were on degree courses and 29 on diploma courses abroad. On the basis of the present rate of development, it is expected that 4 trained graduates will be produced in 1966, 8 in 1969, and 12 in 1971. With no increase in the rate there would be about 120 trained graduates and professional men available 10 years from now; at present 580 posts in the Civil Service and teaching require degrees or professional qualifications. Ways of speeding up the localization of the Civil Service, and of providing more trained officers from local sources, have been suggested by a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. H. L. Adu of Nigeria. In Blantyre they say that until a second report, on improving the educational system of Nyasaland, is completed, the first will remain much Adu about nothing.

"It is difficult to say how much help will be accepted from the Rhodesias. The Federal Government is responsible for health matters, and relations between the proud Nyasas and White Southern Rhodesian medical officers have never been good. A scheme to distribute polio vaccine has been shelved because the Federal Health Department feels its unpopularity amongst the Africans. Dr. Banda seems to have advanced his fervour for a Malawi-state (complete with airline) to a point where, even if both Rhodesias went Black, Malawi would be reluctant to enter a union.

"The United Federal Party theory (fondly held by Sir Roy Welensky) is that when Dr. Banda comes to power he will see the economic necessity for federation and switch his policy. Estimates of the extent of Nyasaland's economic dependence on the Federation vary according to the source: it is said that between £3 million and £5 million a year has come to Nyasaland because of federation. The knots are too tangled for any figure to be acceptable to all. . . .

"Mr. Chisiza, who studied economics while in detention and is never to be seen without a pile of economic works at his side, has written a pamphlet of his own, *Africa—What Lies Ahead*. Published in New Delhi by the Indian Council for Africa (and shortly to be published in London),¹ it is a remarkable sketch of the 'secular and religious problems' facing the new nations of Africa. He describes his economic policy as a 'pragmatic pattern of development', but it reads more like a list of the mistakes made (but not admitted) by the independent African states. With a dash of realism rare in nationalist politicians about to fight elections, Mr. Chisiza asserts that social security in an undeveloped society is, if it is to be provided by the State, 'something very close to a luxury'. He warns against neglect of rural areas and the tendency of new countries to produce un-economic 'show pieces' for the benefit of foreign visitors. Sensible, if optimistic, ways of stabilizing urban African labour are suggested. Mr. Chisiza is hopeful of the prospects of economic growth for Nyasaland—he will soon be in a position to try out his theories in practice.

"His pamphlet shows Mr. Chisiza to be a conservative politician. His solution to the problem of party dictatorship in the new African countries is a temporary system of 'national' governments composed of all parties, to wage economic war against the past. He believes, heretically, that Pan-African unity cannot be imposed by political leaders—grass roots 'regional consciousness' must be fostered first. He warns against 'rewarding friends and punishing foes' after independence; against 'petty jealousies', personal dictatorship and other mistakes that have been made in parts of Africa (although no names are named). Perhaps surprisingly, Mr. Chisiza devotes half of his pamphlet to a call for religious and moral values in Africa. He lectures the missionaries (of all sects) on their mistakes, and describes how they can be rectified. None of this sounds like the wild, 'irresponsible' politics so feared in Salisbury. But Mr. Chisiza's pamphlet is no more than a blue-print, and one that has not yet been read by many

¹By the African Publications Trust.

people in Central Africa. If Malawi, Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) and Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) go the way the United Federal Party predicts they will when Africans take over, Mr. Chisiza's work would amount to sedition. The fact that he has written it gives hope that things, in Malawiland at least, will not be quite so bad as that."

An opposite view was expressed by Mr. Ken Vale, town clerk of Blantyre, who described as "catastrophic" the situation now confronting Nyasaland where, because of the uncertain political climate, development projects worth more than £7 million have been shelved or abandoned in the last eighteen months.

Northern News, March 6, commented: "Because Dr. Banda's Malawi Congress objects to federation it will have nothing to do with schemes introduced by the Federal Government. . . .

"Nyasaland today provides the most shameful evidence of the havoc that can be wrought by ambitious politicians. Money that the country desperately needs, new industries that would give employment to thousands, new schools, medical facilities that would combat the rising tide of disease, are spurned—all because they originate either in Salisbury itself, or with the Federal Government's blessing."

Rhodesia, Northern

Comment on the Constitution

THE leader of the United Federal Party in Northern Rhodesia, Mr. John Roberts, said on March 22 that his party had submitted alternative proposals on the constitution to the British Government in broad outline, and these would be presented to the Governor in Lusaka in more detail.

Mr. Roberts said that the United Federal Party's plan would shift the influence for electing the majority of the members of the Legislative Council to the upper roll. This roll would, of course, include voters of all races. He added that he thought the British Government was now prepared to adopt a more flexible attitude in considering proposals on Northern Rhodesia. However, Mr. Roberts said he thought there was no chance of closing the gap between the views of the U.F.P., and the African nationalist parties such as U.N.I.P. He said the two groups were "poles apart". (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 22.)

The Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone, said on March 27 that forthcoming discussions between himself and political leaders on the future of the Territory would be held behind closed doors. He would not, therefore, publish the proposals he had already put to political groups in a confidential memorandum. Sir Evelyn said that for this reason he was deferring publication of a booklet which had been in preparation because it was based on the contents of his confidential memorandum. (*Federal Newsletter*, April 7.)

Mr. J. Callaghan, M.P., the Labour Party's spokesman on Colonial Affairs, said at Lusaka on March 30 that any attempt to delay settlement because of repercussions in other territories would be a great injustice to Northern Rhodesia. If there were genuine acceptance of a short transition to a Government in which the majority was African, the country could recover stability. The report he would make to the Labour Party on his return was that European opinion was fluid, mobile and perplexed but more receptive to the new situation than he had ever known it. He was confident that the White Paper proposals could be adjusted to suit both Africans and Europeans, if they wished it. Mr. Callaghan said the Federation's weakness was that it had failed to secure representation of the great bulk of its citizens in its representative machinery. When this had been achieved, he said, there was no reason why the three territories should not be linked. (*Federal Newsletter*, April 14.)

The Central African Examiner (March) attacked Sir Roy Welensky for his policy regarding Northern Rhodesia and the damage he had done to the Federation. It commented: "The inconsistencies in Sir Roy's position are legion. He was responsible for boycotting the conference in mid-session, after the U.F.P. delegates had made their case for no changes in the electoral system or rolls, whilst demanding greater independence. The British Cabinet nevertheless negotiated at length with Mr. Greenfield,

Sir Roy's personal emissary. Now he claims that his case has not been heard. And, having been responsible for the scrapping of earlier British proposals, he claims that too many different proposals have been made. Finally, he rejects the British scheme outright as an unjust imposition, and in the same breath calls it a half-baked scheme which cannot be properly evaluated until its details have been worked out."

Barotseland

Sir Mwanawina Lewanika, Paramount Chief of the Barotseland, held talks in London with Mr. Iain Macleod, Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the future constitutional position of Barotseland, which has a curious status as a protectorate within the protectorate of Northern Rhodesia.

Because of the special relationship of Barotseland with the Crown the Paramount Chief took no part in the recent constitutional talks in London. In the White Paper containing the proposals for constitutional change that emerged a paragraph noted that Mr. Macleod had "reminded the conference that the application of the provisions of the United Kingdom Government's plan to Barotseland would have to be discussed in separate consultations with the Paramount Chief".

Barotseland became a protectorate in 1891 on the application of the then Paramount Chief Lewanika. In 1900 the Barotse Concession was signed by the Paramount Chief and representatives of the British South Africa Company, and was later confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Under the concession the chartered company received trading and mineral rights and the Paramount Chief was granted a subsidy. The position of the Paramount Chief in control of tribal affairs was assured. The present population of the province is about 300,000.

At the end of the talks Mr. Macleod renewed the undertakings, which are already enshrined in the Rhodesian Federal constitution, that no constitutional change affecting Barotseland would be made without consultation with, and the consent of, the Paramount Chief. To make the position doubly clear, and to allay the anxieties expressed by the Barotseland delegates in face of coming changes in Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Macleod agreed to advise the Queen "to make certain amendments of the provisions in the relevant Orders in Council in order to clarify and put beyond doubt existing Barotse rights".

In future the Paramount Chief will be known as the Litunga of Barotseland, the title used by his own people. (*The Times*, April 22.)

*The Voice of Zambia*¹ (May) commented: "Was the wastefully expensive trip to London of the eleventh-century feudal ruler of the semi-desert province of Barotseland a pleasure trip or picnic? Or was it really meant to be a political tour? If it was a picnic, it was unnecessary and a waste of public money, if a political mission then it was an ill-conceived and ill-advised farce."

"It is hardly surprising that the delegation failed to achieve its aim. Indeed, after the failure of the Kabaka of Buganda to break away from Uganda, how did the Honourable Sir Mwanawina of Barotseland think that the Colonial Office would grant him secession?"

Mr. J. Callaghan (Labour) asked the Minister for an assurance that the Government had given no encouragement to the idea of succession, but rather that they encouraged the Paramount Chief to bring his system of government into line with modern thinking. (*Hansard*, April 18.)

Mr. Kaunda's Overseas Tour

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda made a brief tour of the U.S.A. from April 8-12 as the guest of the American Committee on Africa. While there he addressed the American people at the annual Africa Freedom Day Rally on April 15.

In transit from America back home, Mr. Kaunda spent three days in London. During this time he had a discussion with the Colonial Secretary regarding the Party's dissatisfaction with the Constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia.

At a Press conference Mr. Kaunda said that if intimidation of members of his Party did not stop and if the bans on his entry to parts of the country were not lifted he would have to consider courting arrest. He is banned from Northern Province Barotseland, and parts of Eastern Province, and more than 300 of his followers are in prison. When he spoke of

¹U.N.I.P. Newsletter published in London.

these things to Mr. Macleod last Friday the Colonial Secretary seemed sad, Mr. Kaunda said, and had promised to look into them.

This is the second time Mr. Kaunda has asked for an investigation. "If this goes on I will have no alternative but to go into these areas and defy these unjust regulations," he added. "I am a man of patience but I am also a man of action." (*The Times*, April 24.)

Europeans Join U.N.I.P.

Mr. M. Sipalo, secretary-general of U.N.I.P., said that European membership of his Party had doubled in the last two months and now stood at about 150. In some places special groups have been formed because Europeans are not allowed into African townships without permits. It would be hardly possible for them to get permits every time there was a U.N.I.P. meeting.

Sir Stewart Gore-Brown, a prominent figure in politics for many years, is amongst those who have enrolled. He was a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils in the Territory from 1935 to 1951, when he resigned. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 12.)

Kafue Scheme

The Northern Rhodesian Government has applied to the U.N.'s Special Fund for a grant of £214,000 that would meet half the cost of investigations designed to calculate the water resources of the Kafue River and its tributaries in two catchment areas, to investigate irrigation possibilities of soils and to gauge effects of hydro-electricity river control works on cattle production, polder farming, fishing and wild life in a great zone around the lower middle reaches of the Kafue.

A memorandum submitted in support of the application explains that, economically, the Kafue River basin is the most important area in Northern Rhodesia. It includes the major towns, a copper industry with an annual production worth £120 million at current prices, areas from which most of the commercial cattle and maize yields are obtained and a fish industry worth nearly £1 million a year.

After leaving the flats the river plunges 2,000 ft. through 20 miles of wild gorges to join the Zambezi. The gorges are the proposed site of a major hydro-electricity scheme which it was calculated would be necessary by 1970. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 25.)

Congress Leader Imprisoned

Mr. Harry Nkumbula, president of the African National Congress, has been taken into custody to serve a twelve months' prison sentence after losing an appeal in the Federal Supreme Court. He had been found guilty by a Lusaka magistrate of causing the death of an African constable by dangerous driving and failing to render assistance. The Supreme Court judgement also confirmed an order cancelling Mr. Nkumbula's driving licence and disqualifying him from obtaining a fresh one for five years.

Mr. Nkumbula had denied he was driving the car at the time it killed the African constable. (*Guardian*, April 13.)

Death Sentences Imposed

Four Africans have been sentenced to death for the murder of Mrs. Lilian Burton, near Ndola last May. Mrs. Burton was driving with two of her children when a mob of Africans stopped the car and poured on petrol. She died of burns. (*The Times*, April 7.)

Rhodesia, Southern

N.D.P. and the Constitution

At the end of an important emergency conference on March 18, the National Democratic Party announced that they had agreed to reserve the right to participate or not in the coming referendum on the proposals, depending on four conditions: that the land question be settled to the Party's satisfaction; that the method of election or selection of members of the constitutional council be satisfactorily settled; that the Federal Government desist from interference in the Northern Rhodesia talks; and that the Government of Southern Rhodesia release all remaining detainees

and lift the ban on N.D.P. meetings in the reserves and privately-owned areas such as mines and big estates.

Andrew Wilson writing for the *O.F.N.S.* (March 20) said: "The decision came hours after the advertised closing time of the conference and was not reached without some plain speaking by those who felt the leadership accepted too little (fifteen African seats—the first in history—on a restricted franchise) at February's constitutional conference in Salisbury.

"Both sides see the outcome as a victory—the critics perhaps thinking that the Government will never meet the conditions demanded and that the proposals are thus effectively rejected; the leaders feeling that Sir Edgar may be forced to make long-withheld concessions and so confirm their skill and foresight. . . .

"The N.D.P. conditions are not unreasonable. The land question has been under discussion by the Government for some time, and so has the release of detainees. The ban on meetings in the reserves is increasingly difficult to justify. Sir Edgar's stand on Northern Rhodesia has often been equivocal.

"On the other hand, Sir Edgar has often been irrationally stubborn, above all when apparent concessions to the N.D.P. endanger votes on his Party's right wing. The question is now whether he can at last stop looking over his shoulder at the 'fringe' voters, and take the plunge, and ensure his Government a further lease of life. A further bait is that the franchise proposals put forward at Salisbury would hamstring the Dominion Party for ever. If he hesitates the U.F.P. and the N.D.P. will go down together—a risk which the N.D.P. leaders seem prepared to accept."

N.D.P. and the Land Question

A spokesman for the National Democratic Party said that if Mr. Sandys, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, continued with the drafting of a constitution for Southern Rhodesia, and if Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister, went ahead with his plans for a referendum before the land question was settled, the Party would repudiate all the results of the Southern Rhodesia constitutional conference. He said the N.D.P. would obtain all the support it required moral and otherwise, from the All-Africa Peoples' Convention.

Sir Edgar Whitehead issued a statement saying that any resort to violence or any disturbance of the peaceful lives of the people would be crushed with all the forces at his disposal. He went on:

"I particularly stress that under our security legislation I have the power to proceed against both organizations and particular individuals. I am now warning all political parties and especially any of their leaders who are foolish enough to believe that they can use violence or any other unlawful means to achieve their aims, that they will bitterly regret any attempt to do so. I would remind the National Democratic Party that the calling in of a foreign Power is treason." (*The Times*, April 28.)

The *Guardian* (May 1) reported that the little news that comes from rural districts reaches Salisbury by way of complainants who come to seek aid from lawyers or through roughly scribbled vernacular letters to the African Press. It is apparent that the situation is serious. In several districts White District Commissioners are openly being defied by tribesmen who once took off their hats whenever his car went past.

Chiefs and headmen are also facing strong opposition. Sir Edgar Whitehead is building up the strength of the police force rapidly and may soon be tempted to take drastic punitive action in rural areas or in towns when he faces the T.U.C.'s pending demand for higher wages. Any such action tends to please White electors who look on any other course as "the appeasement of Munich".

The *Rhodesia Herald* (April 29) commenting on Mr. Malanga's statement said: "The time has come for the forces of law and order to put a stop to his evil machinations. . . . Here in Southern Rhodesia, as in most other parts of Africa, the White man will fight for what he feels is right," and the Africans would never get what they wanted—Black rule.

On April 30, Mr. Enos Nkala, deputy secretary-general of the National Democratic Party, and Mr. Sithole, another N.D.P. official, called on Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister. Mr. Nkala said afterwards he had complained to Sir Edgar that he was being followed by security men and

that he had received anonymous telephone calls, apparently from Europeans, who threatened to shoot him.

On May 3, Mr. Nkala was arrested and after appearing before a magistrate in Gwelo was remanded in custody until May 17. The prosecutor told the court that three additional charges under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act would be brought against him.

In a telegram to Mr. Duncan Sandy, the N.D.P. urged immediate steps to settle the land issue in Southern Rhodesia's Constitution and informed him that 600 people have been arrested by the Government in the rural areas of Southern Rhodesia. Several N.D.P. leaders in Marandellas, including the chairman of the branch, Mr. Gola, were reported to have been arrested on the same day as Mr. Nkala. (*Guardian*, May 2.)

N.D.P. Leader's Successful Appeal

Mr. Michael Mawena successfully appealed to the High Court against conviction and sentence of four years' imprisonment on a charge of contravening the Unlawful Organizations Act. He also succeeded in four of five appeals against contravening the Public Order Act, but on the fifth, sentence of six months was confirmed. (*The Times*, May 15.)

Freehold Rights for Africans

Under the Land Apportionment Amendment Act which came into force on April 14, Africans will now be able to purchase freehold land in Government and Municipal African townships for the first time in the history of the Colony. The two-acre plots would, it is understood, have a minimum building clause of £2,500.

In the past the African came to the towns, got a job and then after a number of years had to return to his home far away in the rural districts. The Act now enables him to have his own home in the African urban areas. It also allows for the African to raise money for building from building societies. When the African wants to sell his property he can sell it only to another African under a clause in the Act.

A European may be permitted to occupy land in an African township under the following conditions: (a) For educational, religious or such other purposes as the Governor may consider to be of benefit to Africans. (b) For the administrative purposes of the Government of the Colony or of the Federation or a local authority. The Act states: "In the case of a Native township established by a local authority, such permission shall be granted only after consultation with such local authority." (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 14.)

European Settlement Scheme

An area of about 160,000 acres of vacant Crown land in Southern Rhodesia has been made available for agricultural settlement for young Europeans. This scheme is the fifth introduced by the Territorial Government since 1945 under the Land Settlement Act.

They must be not less than 23 and not over 30. They must also comply to certain residence and other qualifications. Mr. A. R. W. Stumbles, Minister of Lands and Irrigation, said that the scheme had been made possible through the generosity of the British South Africa Company. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 7.)

Passes Abolished

The Pass Laws (Repeal) Act came into force at the beginning of April. This provides that the only document that an African in Southern Rhodesia now has to carry is a registration certificate. No longer do Africans, whether indigenous or from other territories, have to be in possession of such documents as town passes, passes to seek work, visiting passes, or passes to be abroad after a certain hour at night.

In future, Africans coming to town to seek work will be able to look around for an indefinite period until they either find a job or return home in despair. Previously an African was allowed a limit of twenty-one days in which to find work in an urban area. After this time he was given two days in which to leave the area and return to his home. Failure to obey a "departure order" carried a maximum fine of £10 or imprisonment of up to twelve months. Most local authorities have had a curfew during which any African found without a pass was liable to prosecution. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 8.)

Judicial System Criticized

The Magistrates' Association has called for the separation of the judicial and administrative functions performed by the District Courts and Native Affairs Department. This was stated in the Association's memorandum to the Commission, headed by Sir Victor Robinson, which has been appointed to inquire into the judicial and administrative functions of District Courts and the Native Affairs Department.

The memorandum stated that the courts should be independent of the Government. No judicial officer should be subject to any influence or interference, either direct or indirect, by the Government. A judicial officer must have no interest himself in any matter which he has to adjudicate. Not only should the courts be independent of the Government and be devoid of any personal or official interest in judicial proceedings—but it is equally important that the people should know that these rules apply.

The suggestion that there is still a racial approach in the present judicial system in the lower courts has been made by the Magistrates' Association. It claims that under the present system two standards of justice are being administered. "In Native Department Courts, it is only necessary for Civil Service Lower Law qualification. In towns, District Courts judicial officers hold at least the Civil Service Higher Law Examination. This anomaly has grown in the development of the two departments. The minimum qualification for a judicial officer should be the Higher Law Examination or a legal degree. It is most desirable that all cases tried in the lower courts, whether in the country or in the towns, should be by officers of equal competence to avoid the feeling which is bound to occur, particularly to accused persons, that in the country courts only second class justice is being administered. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 5.)

Comment on the Constitution

The constitutional correspondent of the *Central African Examiner* (March) said of the recent constitutional proposals:¹ "Lord Monckton has been vindicated: the Southern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference adopted exactly those constitutional safeguards and retained those constitutional elements of subordination which the Monckton Report advocated. What remains, of course, is to meet the fundamental Monckton requirement that, in addition to guarding against discrimination in future legislation, that in existing laws be removed."

"Ahead of the draftsmen lies a formidable task, particularly in framing the proposed Declaration of Rights. . . .

"It is scarcely conceivable that any government could wish for even wider powers to restrict traditional individual freedoms than already existed in Southern Rhodesia, and as this legislation is to be exempted from the Declaration one is sceptical of its value. The State's proposed powers in regard to 'morality' are also somewhat strange. Is it proposed to permit the enactment of an Immorality Act on the South African pattern or of legislation prohibiting Mixed Marriages? If prostitution is to be controlled, will an African prostitute be more controlled than a White?

"Necessary freedoms which should be included are freedom of property—to prevent nationalization of industries and expropriation without reasonable compensation—and freedom of education—so that parents retain the right to educate their children in non-Government schools, for schools can become centres of indoctrination."

"The Constitutional Council, which has advisory delaying powers, raises serious problems. If it is politically composed its status as a safeguard will be inferior. If it is judicial it will overlap with the Courts. If it is based on a corporate pattern of community interests it will be ineffective and conservative. . . .

"There are two ways in which the Council can be by-passed: by a certificate of urgency or by a certificate by the Speaker that a Bill is a Money Bill, i.e. one which, in the opinion of the speaker, contains only provisions dealing with the raising or spending of public funds. Both methods are open to abuse. If a certificate of urgency is issued by the Government the Council can only report to Parliament after the legislation has been passed—its delaying powers fall away. An unscrupulous government could therefore legislate first and reconsider afterwards. . . .

"Another problem concerns the meaning of the words 'unfairly'

¹DIGEST VIII, 5.

discriminatory'. The Constitution should settle the question as to whether it covers any separation of the races (the approach of the U.S. Supreme Court since 1954) or, whether it permits of 'separate but equal' treatment. The present wording clearly indicates an adoption of the old South African approach, so that discrimination and inequality as long as it is not 'substantial' will be permitted.

"It should also be made clear that not only discriminatory legislation, by-laws, and quasi-judicial acts will be invalidated, but that even purely administrative acts, such as the conclusion of a commercial contract, will be subject to judicial control if discriminatory attitudes have affected the decision. . . .

"The Constitution will be extremely rigid and will in some cases be subject to treble safeguards—two-thirds majority of Parliament, and agreement of a majority of each of the racial communities voting separately in a referendum, plus scrutiny by the Constitutional Council. Temporarily a lower franchise will permit all Africans of 21 years with a Standard VI education to vote in such a referendum. It is gratifying that the franchise is protected and treated as part of the constitution, which is not normal practice. Qualifications can be lowered (but not raised) with merely a two-thirds majority of Parliament. But one must always remember that no constitution can thwart the will of a majority of the people. Such a constitution will go either by constitutional amendment or by revolution.

"It is proposed that the present multiple preferential vote system be changed so as to permit only of a single transferable vote. The proposals envisage the replacement of the present multiple preferential vote system by a single transferable vote, and where only three parties contest a seat, this would have no particular effect. Where, however, four parties contest, the voter will be placed in a quandary. If a N.D.P. voter assumes that the U.F.P. and D.P. will be pretty evenly matched, to whom should he give his transferable vote? To the C.A.P. which might still fail to get in? Hardly to the D.P. To the U.F.P., then, to keep the D.P. out? Is that what Sir Edgar had in mind?

"An extremely significant omission in the proposals is the status of those voters on the present roll who have come on with lower qualifications. It seems that as the proposals stand, those already on the roll will be transferred to the new 'B' roll and to this extent disenfranchised, as they will have little say in the election of the fifty first-class M.P.'s for the 'A' roll constituencies. . . .

"The most serious problem to emerge is the question of the judiciary. . . . At present judges are appointed by the Governor-in-Council, but the Minister of Justice in practice consults the Chief Justice. To avoid any 'packing' of the bench it is essential that appointments should not be in purely political hands. Therefore it should be laid down formally that the Chief Justice should both advise and consent to any judicial appointments.

"Appeal to the Privy Council is retained as an additional safeguard. . . . But even that august body, the Privy Council, is open to criticism. The fluctuating composition of its Judicial Committee, as well as the unfamiliarity of the judges (normally English common lawyers) with written constitutions has sometimes resulted in their treating constitutions as if they were pieces of subordinate legislation making inroads into the common law. This leads to a tendency to adhere to the letter of the law and to construe narrowly the Declaration of Rights, a tendency which led Canada to abolish the right of appeal to the Privy Council.

"Substantial powers still remain with the United Kingdom despite the demise of the reserved clauses. The United Kingdom Parliament will still be able to legislate for Southern Rhodesia and the rule of repugnancy remains (Southern Rhodesian laws in conflict with an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament extending to the Colony are to that extent void). Although the powers of reservation and general disallowance will go, Southern Rhodesia is yet far from independence. But the substantial safeguards are likely to be far more effective than were the reserved clauses—it was despite these that the Land Apportionment and Husbandry Acts were passed. Most significant is the retention of United Kingdom powers to legislate for Southern Rhodesia. They could be used for the first politically significant time since 1923 to impose the proposed constitution if the predominantly European electorate rejects it at the forthcoming referendum."

Intimidation

Mr. Garfield Todd, a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, wrote in the *Liberal News* (April 27): "Intimidation takes many forms, and while it is at its crudest in the petrol bomb, it is no less undesirable in the call-up of the armed forces to 'maintain law and order' when the peace is threatened simply because a racial minority refuses to abrogate its privilege. The Federal Prime Minister calls upon the Whites to be ready to 'fight for democracy' and in the same speech repudiates universal suffrage even as an ultimate goal: 'democracy' for Whites.

"Many Europeans join in the witch hunt and employees, both Black and White, dare not reveal their true political sympathies for fear of losing their jobs—economic intimidation. The Resident Director of one of our largest financial concerns proudly introduced me to the senior African employee of his organization, a well-paid man in a responsible position. When later it was found that this man was a leader in an African political party, he was dismissed and today is endeavouring to support his family by growing vegetables.

"In Bulawayo, a European professional man has joined the African-led National Democratic Party and has been accepted and honoured by the African members. His action has resulted in such intense intimidation by fellow Whites that life has become extremely difficult and unpleasant for him and his family is deeply affected also.

"Africans also have resorted to crude and brutal intimidation, especially against the few Blacks who associate themselves with the governing United Federal Party. The practice is not restricted to members of African groups, however, for an African member of the United Federal Party was recently fined £25—for intimidating a Malawi district secretary by producing a revolver and threatening to shoot him.

"And so the sad story goes on. Fear is widespread and economic and political uncertainty are undermining the morale of the White people."

Economic Situation

Reserves Fall

The Federation's banking reserves fell by more than £16 million last year. The 1959 year-end figure was £47.5 million. By last December the reserves had dropped to £31.3 million. In January of this year there was a further drop to £28.6 million. (*Digest of Statistics*, March.)

The banking reserves represent the foreign exchange holdings of the Central Bank and the commercial banks. In January the Central Bank's reserves stood at £41 million but the commercial banks were overdrawn to the extent of £12 million. Preliminary figures of the Federation's balance of payments position in 1960 show that total exports of the year were valued at £223 million, a record. Imports were valued at £161 million, leaving a favourable balance on visible trade payments of £62 million. The previous best year was 1959, when the favourable balance was £45 million. The Federation traditionally has a heavy adverse balance on invisible trade because of payments for items like freight, insurance, and dividends. Last year the figure was £72 million leaving an over-all lowest adverse balance on current account since federation and ordinarily it would be made up by capital inflows. This did not happen last year. In fact, there was a net outflow of £6.7 million in 1960, according to the balance of payments table. The deficit on current account was balanced by an inflow of official capital of £7.6 million, a drawing down of banking reserves of £16.1 million. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 31.)

The Minister of Treasury, Mr. C. J. Hatty, told Parliament on April 20 that the territory was facing a budget deficit of £2.4 million in the current year. He announced tax increases including a maximum personal tax of £12 a year on all employed persons, irrespective of race. The amount payable will vary from £2 to £12 a year, according to individual circumstances. It will be on the pay-as-you-earn system. A tax of £1 a month to be levied on employers for each person employed who is not a Federal citizen or Federal African.

Serious Unemployment

The Minister of Labour, Mr. A. E. Abrahamson, warned of the serious unemployment problem. Rural areas covering about two-thirds of the colony were to be prohibited to African labourers from outside the Federation. This ruling came into effect on March 25 and covers all of

Southern Rhodesia south and west of Gatooma, with the exception of mining areas. The Minister said the ban would not affect those "foreign" Africans who were already employed in these areas. Mr. Abrahamson added that it might be necessary to go even further and request the Federal Government to consider applying the Immigration Act to Africans entering the Federation in the same way as it was applied to immigrants of other races. (*Federal Newsletter*, March 31.)

Mr. I. F. McLean (Dominion Party) called on the Government to halt all migrant labour from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia and to return migrants to their homes. This, he said, would bring immediate improvement in the labour position.

The *Northern News* (April 22) commented: "There are bound to be protests at this move, but the wisdom of it cannot be disputed. No country, and least of all a country of the Federation, which is experiencing an economic recession, can afford to give homes to thousands of immigrant Africans, many of whom cannot find work.

"There is a possibility, now that the Union of South Africa is to leave the Commonwealth, that there will be an intensification of the apartheid policies there (certainly the reverse will not apply, as some people with their heads in the clouds imagine), and if this is so, Southern Rhodesia could expect an even greater inflow of Africans from across the Limpopo. To this must be added the enormous annual increase in the number of indigenous Africans seeking work (we do not have the figures for Southern Rhodesia, but in Northern Rhodesia it is in the region of 20,000).

"Obviously, these people must receive preference, and if there are not enough jobs to go round, it is only right that 'foreigners' should be the first to suffer."

Loans Bill

The Development Loans Guarantee Bill has been introduced by Mr. C. J. Hatty, Minister of the Treasury, to guarantee loans for the provision of works and services of a public nature; for agriculture, mining and industrial enterprises, likely to promote employment, or the development of natural resources; and to assist other enterprises in the public interest.

The Bill lays down that the aggregate capital amount of the loans guaranteed must not exceed £15 million. It also stipulates that no guarantee shall be given after July 31, 1963.

It is laid down that as soon as possible after a guarantee has been given the Minister must give details to the Assembly.

The Bill, it was learned yesterday, has been on the stocks since November last year. It has been presented for its first reading at a time when the House is debating a motion to find ways and means of encouraging employment schemes. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 15.)

Expenditure on Education

Grace Todd writing in the *Central African Examiner* (March) said: "As recently as twenty years ago, Government concern for the education of Africans was small and can be measured by the financial assistance given. In Nyasaland £20,000 was provided, in Northern Rhodesia £44,000, and in Southern Rhodesia £90,000. Nevertheless, this limited assistance made it possible for the churches to provide a rudimentary education for more than 100,000 children in each territory.

"The Second World War brought revolutionary changes of outlook to Africa, and in Southern Rhodesia the call from Missions for increased financial help from Government was reinforced by a veritable clamour from the Africans themselves. Until the early 1940's, Africans had not shown great enthusiasm for education but half-empty schools were soon filled to overflowing and, in a twenty-year period, enrolments rocketed from 100,000 to 500,000.

"However, in 1950, Sir Godfrey Huggins realized that considerable changes would have to be made and the Kerr Commission recommended that more teachers should be trained and that the Government should accept responsibility for education in urban areas. The vote, by this time, had risen to £755,000, and the Kerr proposals raised it to almost £1 million.

"Even in 1958, Government provided only £5 per pupil for African education, while the Federal Government spent about £100 per European scholar. That education could be given at all, for such a figure, was made

possible by paying very low wages to teachers and by accepting no responsibility for school buildings. Over all the years, African parents have built the schools but, in urban areas, the materials were not available and anyway a village standard of construction was not acceptable under crowded urban conditions. These factors forced Government to provide adequate buildings in urban centres and as it was imperative, in the interests of law and order, that children should be in school, neither school fees nor book fees were charged.

"This new policy, unknown in penurious Mission schools, which charged tuition fees and sold textbooks, proved quite irresistible to thousands of rural children and their parents and added considerably to the problems of urban education.

"By 1955, the so-called 'White' areas provided employment for over 600,000 Africans, leaving only 300,000 able-bodied men in the Reserves. There was such a shortage of labour that half of the workers came from other countries. A complete reassessment of the situation was called for, one that covered housing, schooling, employment conditions and also the repercussions of such wide change upon the African areas themselves.

"A section of this reassessment led to the launching of a five-year education plan to cover the years 1956-1960. In 1955, fewer than half of the 8,500 teachers were trained, and the five-year plan aimed to produce 4,000 more trained people by December 1960. Proposals for new high schools, commercial courses, an electrician's course and Government teacher training schools were prepared, and extra financial assistance was provided for Missions.

"The success of the plan was so great that it brought crisis in its train. The aim was to produce 600 teachers in 1957, but 700 graduated. The aim for 1958 was 750, but 1,300 were trained. Better pay conditions stopped the wastage of teachers so that more stayed and more were trained than was believed possible. They were all needed, however, for where 8,000 new scholars were expected in 1956, 20,000 filled the beginners' classes. The official estimate of new enrolments for 1957 was 9,000 but the reality was 45,000.

"The beginning of 1958 brought a crisis in education, for a change in Government outlook led to a reduction in the speed of development and instructions were sent to Mission Schools to reduce the intake of scholars to certain classes. The five-year plan was designed to get the children into school and to provide five years of education. If Government policies in Southern Rhodesia had been able to retain the co-operation of the African people, a second five-year plan would have been launched for 1961-5. This second plan would have been designed principally to make a full primary course available to all the children of Rhodesia.

"The financial burden of African education is assuming alarming proportions but it could be our finest investment if we would allow it to pay dividends. Until all restraints and limitations, based on colour alone, are renounced the country will not receive the full return from money spent on education. If we had fourteen generators at Kariba, one painted white and thirteen painted black, we would not be so stupid as to make full use of the power from only the white one. In our national life we have placed so many restrictions, limitations and irritations upon thirteen-fourteenths of our people that we wonder whether, under such conditions, it is worth while to spend large sums on their education."

"Aristone M. Chambati said that 85 per cent of African children in the Colony are getting some education, which is the highest figure in Africa south of the Sahara and thus very impressive indeed. Over 500,000 children are in school this year, but this is far from solving the problem of African education, of which 85 per cent is still in the hands of missionaries of various denominations.

"The Government is providing free education to urban children. This is well and good but not every child is receiving this education. The Government has a ruling to the effect that no child whose name is not on a house certificate of occupation may be admitted into any school. This, on the surface, sounds quite reasonable, but we must consider the fact that there are hundreds of children whose parents have been working in urban areas without any kind of legal accommodation.

"There are only twenty-three African secondary schools in the Colony. In Harare, where there are six primary schools, there is only one junior

secondary school (Form II). Five of these primary schools have three Standard Six classes with an average enrolment of forty students in each class.

"The enrolment at the secondary school in Form I this year at Harare Secondary School is 159 students. Thus only about 40 per cent of these students in Standard Six this year will find places at the Harare Secondary School." (*Central African Examiner*, March.)

Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of

Sir Roy's Warning

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Federal Prime Minister, addressing a public meeting in Bulawayo said: "We have held out the hand of friendship to the African, and we are trying to build him up to take his part in our parliamentary institutions. But if he rejects his place, he must accept the consequences. Up to now partnership has been advocated by African moderates and Europeans. It is the African nationalists who are turning it down. Once I am satisfied that the African is going to turn down partnership I want him to be under no illusions as to where I stand."

He warned America: "I am fully aware of the attitude of the average American, who is anti-colonial for good reasons going back into history. But I would say to them that while colonialism may have brought problems to Africa, the removal of colonialism settles no problems at all. . . . It is all very well to hand out slick and popular constitutions on the basis of one man one vote. But the problems that face us here are ignorance and poverty. Constitutional changes are not going to settle these problems. Charity is no good to Africans either. If you give charity, the receiver seldom cares very much for the giver."

Asked about Southern Rhodesia seceding from the Federation, Sir Roy replied: "It has been said that if Southern Rhodesia decided to go it alone it would mean tightening belts for three years. I think it would be a much more serious question than that . . . and it would not alter problems of those afraid of African advancement." (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 7.)

Addressing the Association of Jewish ex-Servicemen in Salisbury, Sir Roy said that partnership of the races offered by the Rhodesian Federation with its qualitative franchise was going to prove the key to the survival of civilization in Africa.

Some people had criticized him for not declaring the country independent when he returned from the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference in London. They forgot that responsibility demands that all possible forms of negotiation should be exhausted before any extreme action is taken, and that a willingness to negotiate on a reasonable basis does not necessarily, or for that matter normally, imply weakness.

It was true that in recent weeks there were occasions when he felt there were no more grounds for negotiation and that the British Government was committed to a course of action that would lead to the abandonment of responsible government in parts of the Federation, and the break-up of the country. Both of these possibilities, the Prime Minister declared, he had every intention of resisting. In the event of a break-up Nyasaland's position would be parlous: Northern Rhodesia would be subjected to the grave risk of a mono-economy—"and the history of copper over the past three years, when its price went down to £167 a ton and the Territory's revenues suffered accordingly, should be warning enough".

Southern Rhodesia might be able to "go it alone", he said, but there would be a severe reduction in development, a curtailment of existing services and "an increase in taxation, which I could best describe as drastic, if standards now established were to be maintained".

Sir Roy reaffirmed that if he failed to make any impression on the British Government over the Northern Rhodesia constitutional plan, he would resign and seek a mandate from the electorate.

Resignations from Political Parties

Mr. van Eeden has resigned from the Federal Dominion Party. The *Northern News* (March 9) commented: "A person so firmly behind Sir

Roy Welensky and so out of step with his F.D.P. colleagues, was obviously in the wrong party, and it was only a question of time before he admitted the fact."

Mr. van Eeden, who becomes an Independent, said: "With the exception of the leader, Mr. Winston Field, all the other members of the Federal Dominion Party are, in my opinion, really supporters of Mr. Harper's line of thought and will, sooner or later, again link up with him."

Mr. Bill Rendall, Federal M.P. for Northern Rhodesia, has resigned from the United Federal Party. Mr. Rendall claimed that the United Federal Party had failed, very largely, to implement its policy. He criticized the Government for its unfailing predisposition towards Southern Rhodesia, often at the expense of Northern Rhodesia. The Government's antagonism to the Lobito route; the establishment of monopolies, all in Southern Rhodesia; the removal of certain privileges such as dental treatment, free milk and bus services for schoolchildren in Northern Rhodesia; and above all, the continuous preference for Southern Rhodesia over Northern Rhodesia as a field for capital investment.

The *Northern News* (March 27) commented: "These are not matters of conjecture or opinion; they are facts, and they have done much to promote a feeling of hostility in this territory towards federation when a little more imagination on the part of the Ministers and officials concerned could so easily have achieved the opposite effect."

The standing committee of the Southern Rhodesia division of the United Federal Party accepted the resignation of Mr. I. D. Smith, the Federal M.P. for Gwanda and the Chief Government Whip, and six other Party members. The resignations were over the constitutional proposals for Southern Rhodesia.

Mr. L. M. N. Hodson, M.P. for Salisbury, one of the most senior of the Government back-benchers in the Federal Parliament, also resigned from the United Federal Party. In a letter to Sir Roy Welensky he said the U.F.P. in the Federal field had not developed and stuck to an intelligible and realistic policy. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 12.)

Trade Figures

The Federation's exports reached a new record of £206 million last year, according to final trade figures for 1960 published on April 22 by the Central Statistical Office. This was a rise of £19 million on 1959's exports. Imports also increased from £150 million in 1959 to £157 million last year. Copper was again the Federation's biggest export, worth £122 million, followed by unmanufactured tobacco (£37 million), raw asbestos (£8 million), tea (£4 million), and chrome ore (£3.5 million). Rhodesia bought more foreign products and sold more to foreign countries during 1960, but her trade with British countries deteriorated slightly in comparison with 1959.

Britain was still the Federation's biggest customer, buying merchandise worth £90 million but her share of Rhodesian exports dropped from 46.7 to 45 per cent. Exports to West Germany, the Federation's main foreign customer, at £22 million last year were £4 million higher than in 1959, and comprised mainly copper and tobacco. Italy bought copper worth £9 million, cattle hides and groundnuts—an increase of nearly 50 per cent over the previous year. Exports to Japan rose by 25 per cent, from £5 million to over £6 million and were mainly metals and minerals, tobacco, wattle extract and tung oil. Exports to France, almost entirely of copper, were up a third and amounted to £6 million. (*Federal Newsletter*, May 9.)

South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth will not affect her trade with Rhodesia, according to Mr. F. S. Owen, Minister of Commerce and Industry. Mr. Owen who was speaking at the Rand Easter Show said the possibility of a rupture in trade arrangements was prevented by the five-year trade agreement signed by the two countries late last year. "But it is impossible to say what will happen after 1965, when the agreement expires," added Mr. Owen.

Trade between Rhodesia and the Union has fallen off slightly in the

past two years, although the Union is still the second biggest exporter to Rhodesia. "It might pick up. It is hard to say until the agreement has been given a fair try-out," said Mr. Owen. "The balance of trade between our two countries is considerably adverse for us, and we would like to see the Union buying more from Rhodesia." (Northern News, March 28.)

Survey of Health Services

Following are extracts from Appendix VI to the Monckton Report, Chapter IX, which dealt with the Health Service:

The Federal Ministry of Health was started in July 1954. Each Territory is treated as a medical region. Non-Africans contribute to the cost of medical services in normal circumstances. Africans generally are exempt from all payments.

In 1953, in the Federal area £1.62 per head was spent on health; in 1958 £1.01 per head. Expenditure is divided into current, capital grants to Missions and to local authorities. Totals were: Southern Rhodesia 1953—£2,883,033; 1959—£4,139,063; Northern Rhodesia, 1953—£1,405,641; 1959—£2,772,680; Nyasaland, 1953—£310,394; 1959—£919,216.

Population figures in 1959 were:

	Europeans	Africans	Other races
Southern Rhodesia ..	215,000	2,630,000	15,000
Northern Rhodesia ..	73,000	2,280,000	10,000
Nyasaland ..	9,000	2,750,000	12,000

Comparing population figures with regional expenditures shows Nyasaland to be backward.

There are 57 hospitals in Southern Rhodesia, 34 in Northern Rhodesia and 17 in Nyasaland. In Southern Rhodesia there are 74 Rural Hospitals and Health Centres, in Northern Rhodesia 189, and in Nyasaland 111. (Rural hospitals are run by African medical auxiliaries and are visited by medical officers.) These figures do not include Missionary, Municipal or private medical institutions.

The racial distribution of beds in Government hospitals in 1958 was:

	Southern Rhodesia	Northern Rhodesia	Nyasaland
European	1,109	540	125
Coloured and Asian ..	158	16	
African	3,209	2,710	2,481

Government and Mission Hospital and Health Centre beds in 1958 were per 1,000 the population:

	Southern Rhodesia	Northern Rhodesia	Nyasaland
European	6.4	7.5	8.1
Coloured and Asian ..	11.1	2.0	5.9
African	3.63	2.56	1.35

Changes in the Medical and Nursing establishment since Federation have been:

	Southern Rhodesia	Northern Rhodesia	Nyasaland
No. of medical officers ..	1953 95	60	38
	1959 ¹ 127	65	42
No. of trained nurses ..	1953 475	151	34
	1959 ¹ 681	279	57

EAST AFRICA

American Teachers

AHEAD of President Kennedy's Peace Corps, 150 American graduates are going to East Africa to teach for at least two years in secondary schools. The selections have not yet been made but the first 100 are due to arrive in July and the other 50 in October. They will teach science, mathematics, geography, English, and history, and no changes are being made to the school curricula to suit these teachers' background—history will be African or British courses.

¹Actual strength at September 30, 1959.

Tanganyika will probably take 70 of these teachers, Uganda 40, Kenya 30, and the other 10 will go to Zanzibar, unless the new Government to be formed after the June elections raises an objection.

Since each territory has plans for a large secondary school expansion, and since the supply of its own secondary school teachers is quite insufficient to begin to fill the present gaps and take care also of the expansion for many years to come—Makere is only turning out 15 to 20 teachers each year—American officials look on these 150 graduates as likely to be only a first instalment of aid.

There has been an exodus of good African teachers away from secondary school posts either into the exciting fields of politics or the more lucrative senior branches of the Civil Service: Uganda has recently lost about 50 teachers in this way. Until this draining away ceases and a flood of new African teachers begins, East Africa will need to look abroad for aid. (Guardian, April 6.)

Ethiopia

Consequences of the Revolt

GENERAL MENGESTA NEWAY, former commander of the Ethiopian Imperial Bodyguard, was sentenced on March 28, to execution by public hanging for his part in the attempted *coup d'état* in December. The court declared that he had been found guilty on the clearest possible evidence. General Neway said he had no desire to appeal against the sentence. The court stated that it had found General Neway guilty of aggravated homicide by the execution of fifteen senior Government officials, attempting to overthrow the Government and armed rebellion against the constitutional authorities. (The Times, March 29.)

After the suppression of the December revolt, Emperor Haile Selassie undertook a major governmental reshuffle which was finally completed in April. The new ministerial team was headed by the experienced Teshafi Tezaz Aklilu Habte Wold, and included former Ambassadors in London, Washington, and Bonn, as Ministers of Commerce and Industry, Foreign Affairs, and Propaganda respectively. Junior posts went to twenty-five men in their twenties. (The Times, April 18.)

Kenya

Formation of Government

SIR PATRICK RENISON, the Governor, announced on April 18 that the Kenya African Democratic Union had agreed to participate in forming a Government and that the Governor had agreed that the Government "now begin to build a house for Mr. Jomo Kenyatta and his family on a site in Kiambu district in readiness for Mr. Kenyatta's return from Maralal to his home in Kiambu in due course".

No mention was made of conditions under which Mr. Kenyatta will live when he finally reaches Kiambu and whether or not he will continue to be under restriction there. These matters will presumably be decided by the Governor in the light of the circumstances when the time comes for Mr. Kenyatta to move. (The Times, April 19.)

Council of Ministers

The Governor issued a proclamation bringing into operation on April 28 such provisions of the Kenya Constitution (Amendment No. 2) Order in Council 1960 as are not yet in force, thus giving complete effect to the Lancaster House Constitution. The Governor has appointed the following to be members of the Council of Ministers:

Chief Secretary—Sir Walter F. Coutts; Minister for Legal Affairs—E. N. Griffith-Jones; Finance and Development—K. W. S. Mackenzie; Internal Security and Defence—A. C. C. Swann; Education—R. G. Ngala; Commerce, Industry and Communications—M. Muliro; Labour and Housing—T. Towett; Local Government and Lands—W. B. Havelock; Tourism, Forests and Wild Life—P. D. Marrian; Works—A. Jamidar;

Temporary Minister for Agriculture—R. J. M. Swynnerton (subsequently it was announced on May 5 that Mr. M. Blundell, M.B.E., had accepted the appointment as Minister for Agriculture); and Temporary Minister for Health—M. N. Evans. (*Kenya Newsletter*, May 9.)

A K.A.D.U. leader stated that the Health Ministry was being kept for a member of the rival Kenya African National Union. Mr. Bruce McKenzie refused to continue as Minister of Agriculture when the Government failed to gain the support of the majority of the 65 elected members of the Legislative Council. Only 28 members are said to be supporting the Government. This group is made up of 14 K.A.D.U. members, 5 members of Mr. Michael Blundell's New Kenya Group, 4 Asians and 5 other Independents. (*Guardian*, April 28.)

K.A.N.U.'s Reactions

Mr. Mboya after a meeting with Mr. Macleod, said he had established that the Kenya African Democratic Union had been given no undertaking about the possible date of Kenyatta's release before agreeing to form a Government. No undertaking had been given about how quickly the house would be built for Kenyatta in the Kiambu district, and although it was assumed that when the house was built Kenyatta would be moved there, no undertaking had been given to that effect, nor had it been promised that when moved he would be free.

"I find it strange," Mr. Mboya continued, "that K.A.D.U. accepted this vague and meaningless agreement, when they must know the true feelings of the African people, coming as it does only a few days after their president, Ronald Ngala, was making strong statements in Britain that K.A.D.U. would not participate in the Government until Kenyatta was unconditionally released."

Mr. James Gichuru, who arrived in London on April 26, hoping for a meeting with Mr. Macleod, learnt from the Colonial Office that he was to be disappointed. He was assured, however, that officials at the office would be pleased to have talks with him. When Mr. Gichuru arrived he hinted that his Party was prepared to compromise to some extent in the interests of the people of Kenya. He told *The Times* that the possible compromise to which he referred did not imply that K.A.N.U. were ready to co-operate in the Government before Kenyatta was released. He would give no more positive indication of what the compromise might be, except to say that it was not something that could be discussed with Colonial Office officials. (*The Times*, April 28.)

At a Press conference in London, Mr. Gichuru, who was accompanied by Mr. Mbiti Mati, said: "K.A.N.U. is the majority Party in the Legislature, having won 16 seats in the last election. We can furthermore count on the support of 3 other independent members who have joined our Parliamentary Group. K.A.N.U. represents an electorate of 460,360 voters. On the other hand, K.A.D.U. has won 12 seats and is being supported by 3 national members. Their electoral support was in the region of 140,356 voters."

"Now that K.A.D.U. has accepted Ministerial responsibility it should be clear that 4 African Ministers from a minority party, who are as well a minority in the Council of Ministers, cannot in the first place influence any decisions that may be arrived at, nor can they or the rest of the Council of Ministers claim to represent the African people. If the object of the Macleod Constitution was to lead Africans towards independence, this has not been achieved through the formation of the present Government. Our Party does not support any interim measures such as the Macleod Constitution which, to our minds, is being used to delay our advance towards independence."

Mr. Ngala's Comment

Mr. Ronald Ngala said: "I think it should be emphasized that although my own Party has four less seats in the Legislature than the Kenya African National Union, neither party can claim to be a majority party in the House. . . . Whatever number of elected members sit on the Opposition benches it should be remembered that only nineteen, or perhaps less, will be members of K.A.N.U. Many Independents have assured me that they will not oppose the Government in principle although they may sit on the Opposition benches in order to criticize in detail. The three Coalition members I understand are in the same position. . . . It is important to realize that in present circumstances no single party could 'go it alone'." (May 1.)

Jomo Kenyatta

Several weeks before Mr. Ngala agreed to participate in Government, eleven African leaders had a day-long discussion with Jomo Kenyatta. They indicated that the attitudes of their two parties towards helping to form a Government had not been altered. The K.A.N.U. leaders—Mr. James Gichuru, Mr. Tom Mboya and Mr. Oginga Odinga—stood firmly on their refusal to join a Government until Kenyatta is released. Mr. Gichuru said: "We had already come to a decision not to take part in a Government. Certainly Kenyatta approves of our stand."

Mr. Mboya claimed that this subject was not "an item for discussion; we had decided on this long before". He said that the main subject discussed during the five hours of talks was national unity.

The position of the other party, the Kenya African Democratic Union, is more equivocal. Its six delegates agreed to a joint statement with K.A.N.U. which was drawn up in Kenyatta's presence and which said that both parties would work together through a joint consultative committee for two aims: full independence this year and "immediate and unconditional release of Jomo Kenyatta". But the leader of its delegation, Mr. Daniel Arap Moi, said later: "Our hands are not tied at all. This question of the release of Jomo Kenyatta is a separate issue from that of forming a Government. We cannot take the two together." (*Guardian*, March 24.)

The Kenya Government announced on April 4: "Mr. Kenyatta has moved into the house at Maralal, where he will continue to be under a restriction order." Kenyatta's family flew with him from his previous place of residence at Lodwar, 320 miles north of Nairobi, where he has been living under a restriction order since April 1959. (*Guardian*, April 5.)

A Times editorial (April 10) stated the Kenya Government had reached an impasse over Jomo Kenyatta. The Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, has in the past been worried over the effects of his release on security. With the elections over, and African leaders anxious to take part in Government, it seems much less certain that these particular anxieties hold. The release would, it is true, be unwelcome to a large proportion of the Civil Service and the resident European population: even, probably, to a number of inarticulate Africans. Nevertheless, these have become accustomed to the idea that the release was inevitable. Mr. Blundell has even declared that no one could have any objection to Kenyatta being in the Government. Meanwhile, however, another complication of a different kind has arisen. Many Tories—by no means all fanatical right-wingers—who felt the time had come to put the brake on the British Government's African policies in Central Africa are also opposed to Kenyatta's release.

The editorial went on to discuss the moral issues involved in the case. It referred to the nature of Mau Mau oaths and stated that it is, however, fair to say that Kenyatta's responsibility for these horrible aberrations was at most indirect. It is evident that the propagation of the Mau Mau creed among primitive, or recently primitive, people was bound to end this way. Equally, it is open to assume that Kenyatta never intended such excesses and that after his imprisonment the society which he was convicted of managing escaped his control.

The editorial stated that Kenyatta was not on a par with other nationalist leaders. The other African leaders of contemporary times have concentrated on leading their people towards the light. Kenyatta's movement was preoccupied with the darkness, and it was consciously recidivist and atavistic. It went farther. The Mau Mau oaths in their extreme forms would have been condemned in Kikuyu society such as it was before the White man came.

It concluded: "It hardly seems right that a man who has been condemned and served his sentence for actions for which he was directly responsible should be held in restraint for ever for their indirect consequences. Kenyatta undoubtedly ought to be released. What the consequences of his release would be is another matter. His own attitude and intentions are veiled. The real attitude of other African leaders towards him is complicated and unclear. It is evident that were Kenya to become independent, with Kenyatta as Chief Minister, the case would be quite different from that of other countries whose leaders were indeed imprisoned but were quite different men from Kenyatta. One clear consequence is that Kenya could not be a member of the Commonwealth. But that is crossing bridges."

Jomo Kenyatta gave his first Press conference since his imprisonment on April 11 at Maralal. For three hours he faced questions of more than fifty journalists with a sharpness and agility that many Western politicians might envy, dispelling once and for all the illusion that he is an old man who wants nothing better than to spend his last years in peace.

Kenyatta's answers covered four main themes. He said that the Lancaster House constitution had now served its purpose, and a round-table conference should be called immediately to discuss the next step. He issued a general condemnation of violence and therefore, by implication, of Mau Mau, but immediately weakened it by claiming that he was saying no more than he had always said.

He said that Europeans would find a place in the future Kenya, provided that they took their place as ordinary citizens and that farmers would be secure, provided that they were farming well. Finally, he repeatedly attacked the Governor and his advisers, whose obstinacy and stubbornness in the face of the will of the majority were the cause of the present political deadlock.

"I have never been a violent man, and my whole life has been non-violent; if I came out I would remain so," he said. He condemned violence and the oath-taking ceremonies of Mau Mau, and implicitly denied his own connexion with the worst aspects of that movement when he said that the Corfield report, which sought to establish such a connexion was "a pack of lies and a one-sided document aimed at one purpose—to crush Kenyatta". When asked about the more general place of Mau Mau in Kenya's history, however, he said merely that he would leave that to the historians. (*The Times*, April 12.)

Mr. Michael Blundell in a letter to *The Times* (April 15) wrote: "Throughout the recent election campaign when questioned on the issue of Kenyatta's participation in the Government, I made the same reply. No one can give an answer until Kenyatta himself has made clear his views and opinions on the political issues confronting Kenya and thus given us an opportunity of deciding for ourselves what course is in the best interests of Kenya.

"No member of the New Kenya Party has departed from our general views on this issue, which are: (a) that Kenyatta should be released before Independence and while Her Majesty's Government still has responsibility for the affairs of Kenya; (b) that the timing of the release must largely depend on considerations of law and order and Kenyatta's own personal safety; (c) that our participation in a Government of which he is a member will be decided in the light of the views which he may hold at that time and in the best interests of Kenya.

"We believe at the present time that the immediate association of all races in the Government of Kenya is the best way to create the conditions which will justify his release."

The president of the Kenya African Democratic Union, Mr. Ronald Ngala, said on April 16 that the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod, had found a formula for the release of Jomo Kenyatta. Mr. Ngala said on his return from London that Mr. Macleod told him "he had definitely communicated the formula to the Governor". He gave no details. (*Guardian*, April 16.)

A K.A.D.U. delegation headed by Mr. Ronald Ngala went to Government House in Nairobi on April 16 to hear the Governor's views on a possible compromise over the release of Kenyatta. The Governor's suggestions were not accepted without reserve, but they were taken as a reasonable basis for further discussion. Talks were resumed on April 17.

Election Results

The final stage in the elections took place on March 16, when the 53 elected members of Legislative Council met to elect a further 12 National Members. Under the Constitution, seats were reserved as follows: 4 Africans, 4 Europeans, 2 Asian Non-Muslims, 1 Asian Muslim and 1 Arab. Those elected were: European—D. Q. Erskine, R. A. Macleod, B. R. McKenzie, J. L. Porter. African—A. Kilelu, J. N. Ole Konchellah, F. W.

¹DIGEST VIII, 5.

Odede, P. J. H. Okondo. Asian Muslim—Jan Mohamed. Non-Muslim—S. S. Patel, F. R. S. de Souza. Arab—M. A. Alamoody.

As a result the Kenya African National Union (K.A.N.U.) had 19 supporters among the elected members, and the Kenya African Democratic Union 15. Three of the European National Members were members of the New Kenya Party which brought their total number of supporters to 7. (*Kenya Newsletter*, March 27.)

The Kenya Supreme Court on May 3 judged null and void the election of Mr. Mota Singh to the Nairobi South Asian Non-Moslem seat in the Legislative Council. It declared Mr. Chanan Singh, the president of the Kenya Freedom Party, elected by a majority of three votes. In the General Election, Mr. Mota Singh won by a single vote but the Supreme Court decided that ten ballot papers had been wrongly rejected as spoiled papers and that another four votes should be deducted because of unlawful impersonation of voters. Mr. Mota Singh was elected as an Independent but he would have supported the new Government, whereas Mr. Chanan Singh's Party is sitting in opposition. (*Guardian*, May 4.)

The Economy

Kenya's total volume of trade during 1960 was £110,245,700, compared with a figure of £99,892,377 in 1959. Domestic and re-exports totalled £40,195,403, compared with £38,384,831, in the previous year. There were £70,050,297 worth of imports, as against £61,507,546 in 1959. Coffee remained the Colony's chief export, with sisal once more coming into second place and tea relegated to third. The value of 1960's coffee crop, with the 1959 figure in parentheses, was £10,260,956 (£10,576,710). Sisal was worth £4,566,033 (£3,458,472) and tea £4,410,922 (£3,601,643).

Other principal exports were: pyrethrum extract £2,019,115 (£1,862,996), meat and meat preparations £1,845,175 (£1,987,053), hides and skins £1,755,745 (£1,635,294), soda ash £1,317,336 (£1,712,646) and pyrethrum £1,006,154 (£333,272). The United Kingdom continued to be Kenya's principal market for her products in the British Commonwealth. (*Kenya Newsletter*, March 27.)

In an article in the *Kenya Weekly News* (March 31), Alan Moor wrote of the Nairobi Stock Exchange which, he stated, indicated a deep depression. In the twelve months between the opening of the Lancaster House discussions and last December, the market value of gilt-edged stocks of the Kenya Government and the East African High Commission slumped from £84,377,000 to £69,023,971—a fall of £15,353,029, or 18.1 per cent. During the same period industrial shares dropped from £35,154,555 to £23,725,917, a reduction of £11,428,638, or 32.5 per cent. The joint effect of this represented a £26,781,667 (22.4 per cent) lessening of faith in Kenya's stability and economic potential.

During the past three months there was a slight recovery of values, but this was regarded by stockbroking experts as indicating no more than a speculative interest in the East African market. A few people with money lying idle made a somewhat timid approach to stock buying before the general election in the hope of cashing in if all went well. In consequence prices rose a little, but not nearly enough for the speculators, which might be taken for a fair commentary on the post-election political temperature. There was virtually no new investment in Kenya and it was regarded as problematical whether buyers who were hopeful of capital appreciation would achieve it.

Alan Moor gave a further example. The Stock Exchange maintained an industrial index. This, standing at a basic 100 in January 1955, had risen to 136.4 by the following December. Then the decline began. It was at 127.8 by December 1956, 116 in December 1957, 98.2 in December 1958, 96.2 in December 1959 and 61.3 in December 1960. Since then, indicating the speculative trend, the figure had risen to 64.6.

Patrick Keatley reported in the *Guardian* (May 6) that the British Government had agreed to substantial increases in financial assistance for Kenya, which would more than double the £7.5 million already promised for the current financial year. Mr. Ronald Ngala had announced on May 5 that Britain had now agreed to loans and grants totalling £14.5 million for 1961–2 with a further grant which would be announced when the new Administration presented its first budget.

Some of this increased aid was already earmarked for making good the

budget deficit in the current year, a deficit which had largely come about through the unsettled political conditions. Now that the elections were over and the first African-dominated Administration had been formed, the hope was that the down-turn in business activity which had bedevilled Kenya's economy for fifteen months, would be reversed. The success of this plan turned on the degree of confidence achieved by the new Administration.

Mr. Ngala stated that the additional money would make it possible to embark immediately on expanded plans for education, land resettlement and public works. Because of the acute unemployment problem in Nairobi and other centres, there would have to be Government projects such as road and airport construction. Mr. Ngala said that although the increased aid fell short of what had been asked for, he and his fellow Ministers were still hopeful of achieving the goal of £25 million for a five-year development plan.

Detainees

Since the Fair Committee's report was published in July 1959, and its recommendations implemented by the Kenya Government, with some slight modifications, there has been a considerable decrease in the numbers of people in detention. In August 1959, a total of 1,576 detainees and restrictees were held in various parts of Kenya. Now there remained only eight detainees, who were held in one camp in the Kiambu district, plus sixty restrictees—mostly at Galole and Marsabit. It is expected that during the next two or three months all the detainees will have been released and less than thirty restrictees will remain. (*Kenya Newsletter*, March 14.)

African Farming Schemes

The Land Development and Settlement Board completed negotiations for the purchase of 2,200 acres from European farmers in the Uasin Gishu, Nakuru and Kiambu districts. It was proposed to begin an African peasant farming scheme in Kiambu, and another in the Uasin Gishu and a yeoman farmer scheme in Nakuru District. Preliminary investigations into offers of over 50,000 acres in these districts and in the Nyeri, Thika and Machakos districts have also been carried out. As a result of this the technical officers of the Board were proceeding in the first place with detailed investigations into over 10,000 acres on offer in the Kiambu, Nakuru and Uasin Gishu districts.

The recruitment of peasant and yeoman farmers for these schemes would start in March. Although many applications had already been received, recruitment might be a protracted operation as African farmers would wish to view the land on offer for sale to them by the Board, and having made their choice, to wind up their present farming activities before taking over their new farms. It was not expected that many farmers would wish to move during the present cropping season. The Board was now preparing sub-divisional plans for the redevelopment of the farms purchased for peasant and yeoman farmers. At the same time the Board was arranging for the arable land to be planted with both food and cash crops so that the incoming farmer will have some crops to take over. (*Kenya Newsletter*, March 14.)

Kenya's Minister for Agriculture and Minister for Finance and Development arrived back in Kenya after visiting Rome, London, and the U.S.A. After talks in London and New York, the £1.5 million loan from the Colonial Development Corporation and the £3 million loan from the World Bank have been confirmed. (The loans were part of the Kenya Government's £8 million scheme for settling African farmers in the Highlands.) There were still certain formalities to be dealt with and in Kenya the legislation had to be passed giving the Government authority to accept the loans. Repayment of the loans would be over twenty-five years respectively. When the Minister for Finance, Mr. K. W. S. MacKenzie, arrived back in Kenya he stated that Britain would help Kenya balance her budget. (He had previously announced that help would take the form of a grant-in-aid and not a loan.) Recalling that he was due to present his budget on May 16, he said: "I will be able to work on the assumption that the difference between our own revenue and expenditure estimates will be met." (*Kenya Newsletter*, April 25.)

Somali Republic

Presidential Address

Relations with Ethiopia

PRESIDENT ADEN ABDULLA OSMAN in a speech at Hargeisa on April 15 said that an Addis Ababa broadcast had said that Somalis in the northern region did not want to meet him and that the few who had turned out to do so were either coerced or persuaded against their better judgement. He continued: "This is an insult to the intelligence of our people who turned out in their thousands to greet me, and those accompanying me, both at Burao and at Hargeisa. Such false and despicable announcements intended to give false impressions of disunity amongst our people is typical of the present tone of broadcasters from Addis. Even if it would have been possible for the people to have been compelled against their will to meet their Head of State, this certainly could (only) have been done within the country which has made such broadcast rather than in this Republic for the simple reason that here we have a democratic parliamentary form of government whilst in that country there is still an absolute medieval form of monarchy."

"It is appropriate that today, being African Solidarity Day, for me as your Head of State to make it clear to the world that this Republic reaffirms its adherence to the cause and aspirations of the African nations as a fellow African State."

Unification

The President then went on to say that so far as the unification of the five Somali territories is concerned so far only two have been incorporated into the Republic. It is therefore imperative that there should be no relaxation of our efforts in this direction to achieve the freedom of the remaining three territories.

Democracy and Islam

The President gave a brief explanation of how the principles of democracy operate and how the offices and functions of President, Government and Parliament are controlled by the Constitution. He said: "Furthermore as an Islamic people, the Constitution from the very beginning makes it clear that we are an Islamic people with Islam as the only recognized State religion, and any law enacted by the Parliament must be based on the general principles of Islam."

Social Problems

As everyone knows, the gravest problem at present is unemployment. The Government cannot be blamed for this as there was the same extent of unemployment prior to independence. Unfortunately however many Somalis believed that with independence there would automatically be a surfeit of jobs and that unemployment would become an evil of the past.

Another problem which faces us is that of integration of the laws and systems. As soon as unification was achieved, committees were set up to examine and make recommendations of the early integration of the systems and laws left behind by the Italian and British régimes. Similarly there is the written language difficulty. In the north the schools teach Arabic and English, whilst in the other parts of the Republic Italian and Arabic are taught. Thus the only common language at the moment is Arabic. So far as our own Somali language is concerned steps have already been taken to set up a committee to examine the matter and to make recommendations as to the best method by which Somali can be written.

"The health of the people is a vital necessity and there must be no misunderstanding that modern medicine because it is manufactured by those other than Muslims is something to be avoided now that the country is no longer under the colonial powers. In fact the history of medicine goes back to the Arabs and Persians. It is also incumbent upon us as Muslims to take treatment for sickness. A healthy people creates a healthy State."

Foreign Policy

"So far as our policy with other countries is concerned there are fifteen countries, of which nine are from the East, who have either diplomatic representation in this country already or who have established

friendly relations with us. We have clearly told them that our policy is one of strict neutrality and that we wish to maintain friendly relations with all who are prepared to reciprocate. I must emphasize however, that as an African State and as an Islamic people, we feel that we have special ties with fellow African and Islamic countries."

Dagahbour Massacres

The President then said that he had deliberately kept a most important matter to the last, which is the recent Dagahbour massacres.¹ All the Somali people mourn for those innocent men, women and children who were slaughtered at Dagahbour and for those who were wounded and bereaved by the incidents. This tragedy, following so soon after other similar tragedies, is a matter of the gravest importance and the Government must carefully consider what action is appropriate. Whilst we as an African State stand by our pledge that we reject violence, as a means to an end, or the advocacy of violence, yet it is simply not possible that we can stand aside and remain quiet whilst innocent men, women and children are being mercilessly slaughtered simply because they refuse to surrender their national heritage of race, their religion and their land.

"In 1957, Abdullahi Issa and myself saw the Emperor of Ethiopia in Addis Ababa. We emphasized that the Somalis were determined to achieve their independence and unity and as an Emperor of an African State it was incumbent for him to give the lead by giving the Somalis under his control their independence. The Emperor said that when the Somalis under trusteeship had achieved their liberty the parties concerned should see how best to solve the pending problems in friendly contacts. I take this opportunity to tell the Ethiopian people and their Emperor, Haile Selassie, that the Somalis under their control should be given the right to determine their future. That we cannot simply stand aside and tolerate further massacres of innocent people." (*Somali News*, April 28.)

Students in Moscow

In the *Sunday Times* (March 26) Richard Cox wrote that Somali students who were prevailed upon to go to the new People's Friendship University in Moscow, recently renamed the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University, have returned disenchanted with Communism. In the words of one of the Somalis, the Friendship University was "a beautiful building", but they lived in a hostel forty-five minutes away by underground. They slept eight to a room, 12 by 8 feet, on camp beds, with only a tiny cupboard each. It was winter, but there was no hot water, the lavatories had no doors and there was only one poorly-furnished reading room for 900 students.

They ate in workers' canteens because at first their allowance was inadequate and meals cost a lot. In any event, most of the better restaurants the Somalis said, were closed to Coloured people.

During their first year they learned only Russian, and had a daily class in Communist theory. They were also obliged to attend political meetings and demonstrations. One Somali also stated that there was a colour bar. He said that at a student dance a Komsomol pulled away his partner, exclaiming "We don't want you going about with Negroes." Students' letters in and out were censored and they were kept as split up and as nationally antagonistic as possible. Thus the authorities refused to recognize a Black African Students' Association for mutual co-operation among Africans, on the grounds that there could be no such unified association because there was no unity in Africa.

The Somalis also found there was no facility for religion within the university. The Muslim religion was constantly ridiculed.

Tanganyika

New Cabinet

ON May 1, Mr. Julius Nyerere became Prime Minister. His new Cabinet was announced on April 27, and with an average age of 37, it contained nine Africans, two Europeans and one Asian.

¹DIGEST VIII, 5.

The two Europeans were Sir Ernest Vasey, 59, who retained the Finance portfolio, and Mr. Derek Bryceson, 37, who remained Health and Labour Minister. The Asian Minister, Mr. Amir Jamal, retained the Communications, Power and Works Ministry.

Two newcomers were Mr. Tewa Said Tewa, 35, who took over the Lands and Surveys Ministry, in which he was once employed as a field assistant, and Mr. Job Marecela Lusinde, 30 (youngest in the Cabinet), a lay reader who became Local Government Minister. Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, the Local Government Minister, became Minister without Portfolio to help the Prime Minister. Chief Abdullah Fundikira, at present Lands Minister, became Legal Affairs Minister.

The other Ministers—all retaining their present portfolio—were Mr. Clement Kahama (Home Affairs), Mr. Paul Bomani (Agriculture), Mr. Nsiloi Swai (Commerce and Industry), and Mr. Oscar Kambona (Education). (*The Times*, April 28.)

Road to Independence

The Tanganyika constitutional conference which was held to discuss the next steps towards independence opened in Dar-es-Salaam on March 27.

In his speech at the public session, Mr. Macleod said: "We all want to see Tanganyika get off to independence with as good a start as possible, and we must therefore plan so that Tanganyika may be able to go forward in peace and harmony and be able to face successfully the new problems which independence will bring. Subject to giving time for these plans to be soundly conceived and executed, the United Kingdom has no desire to put that date of independence later than is absolutely necessary." He paid tribute to Mr. Nyerere as a man to whom not only the people of Tanganyika but many others in all parts of the world could look with confidence to guide the emerging nation successfully through the great tasks ahead.

Mr. Nyerere paid tribute to Mr. Macleod and Sir Richard Turnbull whose good intentions, he said, left little doubt that the conference would have a happy outcome. Emphasizing the need for Tanganyika to retain an adequate number of experienced expatriate Civil Servants, Mr. Nyerere said: "The differences of the past were those which come about when a nationalist movement confronts a Civil Service Government. We bore no hard feelings against the Civil Service as such and our experience of office has now confirmed our regard for the spirit of co-operation and the faithful service which our Civil Servants give to this country."

Mr. Nyerere said that he was glad to assure Mr. Macleod that the Legislative Council gave a unanimous and overwhelming welcome to the prospect of the overseas aid scheme which would enable expatriate officers from Britain to continue to serve Tanganyika. He added: "It may not be out of place to remind Her Majesty's Government that Tanganyika is a poor country. We thus feel entitled to the sympathetic help of Her Majesty's Government in enabling us to meet whatever bills may be due from us and in helping us to launch ourselves upon the seas of independence without any crippling burdens."

Mr. Nyerere said that the people looked forward to their early independence within the Commonwealth, which had just given such convincing proof of its attachment to the ideals of liberty and brotherhood among men. (*The Times*, March 28.)

The final session of the constitutional talks ended a day early on March 29, when Mr. Macleod announced that Tanganyika would have full internal self-government on May 1, and full independence on December 28. He said: "Internal self-government would mean that the Governor, Deputy Governor and two official Ministers would withdraw from the Council of Ministers, which would be renamed the Cabinet, presided over by a Prime Minister. Most of the powers exercised by the Governor would disappear." The public service commission would become executive two months after internal self-government. A police service commission and a judicial service commission would be created at the same time. (*The Times*, April 1.)

Another result of the constitutional changes would be that the post of Attorney-General would no longer be held by a member of Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service. The present Attorney-General would leave Tan-

ganyika in May. It was proposed that the new Attorney-General should not be a Minister or Member of the Legislative Council but should be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Prime Minister. Mr. Nyerere indicated that it was his intention to advise the Governor to appoint Mr. Roland Brown, a London barrister.

It was also proposed that provision should be made for a post of Director of Public Prosecutions which would normally be filled by a Civil Servant selected by the Public Service Commission. It was however agreed that so long as Mr. Brown holds the post of Attorney-General he will also hold the appointment of Director of Public Prosecutions. (*Tanganyika Information Services*, March 30.)

In an editorial *The Times* (April 1) commented that this was an event which prompted much reflection. Never, even in the case of Nigeria, had the march of a country towards independence been achieved with so little friction either between African nationalism and the administering Power or between African and African. Credit went to Sir Richard Turnbull and Mr. Julius Nyerere. But those who laboured in the vineyard earlier on should not be forgotten—Lord Twining, the previous Governor, Chief Kidaha, the first African to be nominated to the Executive Council, and then Tanganyika's enlightened tycoons, the late Sir Eldred Hitchcock and the late Dr. Williamson and the members of the Indian community such as the Karimji family and Dr. Chopra. All these men laboured mightily that Tanganyika should be a land where racial harmony prevailed.

The *Guardian* (March 30) stated that Tanganyika will soon be free but she will still be poor. She has a population of nearly 9 millions with an income of less than £20 a head. If she has escaped the problems which large-scale European settlement has brought to her neighbours, she has missed the corresponding economic benefits too. Secondary education is still rudimentary though there have been vigorous efforts to expand it in the last few years; a period of "crash programmes" for equipping more Africans to take a guiding hand in administration lies ahead. It concluded by hoping that the British Government would "be generous in helping Tanganyika over the early years of independence, for a thriving State with all races happy under African leadership would be a splendid example for other African States to follow. Freedom alone is not enough; we want to see Tanganyika both free and prosperous."

In its report on the conference, the *Kenya Weekly News* (April 7) commented: "At the risk of sermonizing, cannot we again emphasize the great lesson of this week. See what can be achieved by moderation, by peaceful political campaigning without intimidation, by a short period of co-operation and partnership in Government before assuming full powers. It is incredible, in the face of the facts of Tanganyika today, that so many other East African nationalist leaders still follow the path of evil machination and political 'one-up-manship', in preference to vigorous and successful leadership. Tanganyika is a poor country economically. Politically it can be one of the richest in Africa."

T.A.N.U. Council Changes

The vice-president of the Tanganyika African National Union has resigned and been replaced by Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, then Tanganyika's Minister for Local Government and Housing. Publicity Secretary Kaffella Bantu was replaced by Mr. Rowland Mwanjisi, formerly administrator-general, a post now abolished. Ex-chairman of West Lake, Mr. Edward Barongo, has been named for the post of assistant organizing secretary-general. (*Daily Nation*, February 14.)

Relations with South Africa

As a protest against South Africa's racial policies, the Government decided to stop the supply of labour from the territory for the Rand gold mines. Under a 1959 agreement, 10,000–12,000 labourers could be engaged. The Government's action was taken as a result of mounting political pressure since Sharpeville. This would cut off the annual sum of nearly £500,000 that the labour scheme had been bringing into Tanganyika and created problems in the Mbeya and Rungwe areas, which supplied most of the labourers. The Minister of Labour said the decision had been taken "after considerable heart-searching". (*South Africa*, February 2.)

Uganda

The Elections

THE final result of the general election was as follows: Democratic Party, 43 seats; Uganda People's Congress, 35 seats; Independents, 2 seats; and the Uganda National Congress, 1 seat.

In one constituency polling was postponed because of the death of a candidate. The Democratic Party had a small majority and owed it largely to its strength in Buganda, where it won 20 out of 21 seats. The effect of this dependence on Buganda, where the bulk of the people refused to register at all and where, consequently, electorates are very small, was that the D.P. was elected on a minority vote.

Four Asians were elected for urban seats, including two Independents. The only European candidate was defeated but the polling figures showed that he gained many Non-European votes. The only unexpected feature was the low poll of Independents, and minor parties. (*The Times*, March 27.)

The final corrected figures for the votes cast in the election were as follows:

Uganda People's Congress	..	..	..	488,334
Democratic Party ..	..	..	..	407,416
Uganda National Congress	..	..	..	31,712
Independents and others ..	..	..	..	56,256
Total ..	..	..	..	983,718

The total vote is 78 per cent of the electorate in the 73 constituencies contested. (*The Times*, March 29.)

The Democratic Party secured 6 of the 9 specially elected seats in the new Uganda Legislative Council with nominees of the Uganda People's Congress obtaining the remaining 3. Four candidates put forward by Sir Frederick Crawford, the Governor of Uganda, were unsuccessful. The elections were made by the 81 members returned at the general election and 3 *ex-officio* members of the new council—the Chief Secretary, Attorney-General, and Finance Minister. (*The Times*, April 13.)

Three African women were among the 7 members appointed by the Governor, Sir Frederick Crawford, to the new Uganda Legislative Council. They were the only women in the new Council. (*Guardian*, April 17.)

The Democratic Party candidate won the seat for South-West Kigezi in which polling had been postponed. The full composition of the Legislative Council, including specially Elected Members and others, was 101 members. They were: Democratic Party, 50; Uganda People's Congress, 38; Uganda National Congress, 1; Independents, 2; Governor's Nominated Members, 7; and *ex-officio* members, 3. (*Uganda News*, April 25.)

The *Kenya Weekly News* (April 7) commented that for the general good of the country the results of the elections could hardly have been improved upon. Stability seemed assured by the fact that the Democratic Party had an overall majority, yet the Peoples' Congress Opposition was strong enough to keep the Government on its toes and prevent it from pursuing any path which was widely unpopular.

The Democrats themselves, too, had always been the most stable Party internally. They had never suffered from the splits, splinters and mergers which had beset the course of every other political organization in the country. Another stabilizing factor was the negligible strength of Independents and National Congress. Various exotic local organizations had been swept from the political board and a solid two-party system had emerged. The *ex-officio* Civil Servants would carry weight but could not dominate the Legislature.

New Government

In the new Council of Ministers the Governor will be the Chairman, and there will be three *ex-officio* Ministers—the Chief Secretary (Mr. G. B. Cartland), the Attorney-General (Mr. R. L. E. Dreschfield), and the Financial Secretary (Mr. C. G. F. F. Melmoth). The other ten Ministers come

from the body of elected and specially elected members of the Legislative Council. They are as follows:

Minister without Portfolio and Leader of the House—Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka. Aged 39. A Muganda who is president-general of the Democratic Party. LL.B. of the University of London and a barrister of Gray's Inn.

Minister of Education—Mr. John C. Kiwanuka, 42. A Muganda. Secondary school teacher, B.Sc. of Nottingham University.

Minister of Health—Mr. David Nabeta, 43. A Musoga. Education diploma from Makerere College and former teacher at King's College, Budo, and Mwiri College, Busoga. Former Minister of Works.

Minister of Works—Mr. Nicholas E. Opio, 50. A Lango. Educated at Institute of Education, University of London. Former senior assistant education officer.

Minister of Local Government—Mr. Basil Bataringaya, 37. A Munyankole. Diploma in Education of Makerere College. Formerly supervisor of primary schools for the Roman Catholic Mission, Ankole.

Minister of Commerce and Industry—Mr. C. K. Patel, 57. An Asian. Barrister of Lincoln's Inn since 1928. Magistrate during the war, member of Legislative Council since 1945 and of the Central Legislative Assembly of the East Africa High Commission since 1954.

Minister of Economic Development—Mr. Lawrence M. K. Sebalu, 30. A Muganda. Graduate of St. Xavier's College, Calcutta. LL.B. of Delhi University. Advocate of the High Court.

Minister of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry—Mr. Balamu J. Mukasa, 57. A Munyoro/Muganda. B.A. of Yale University. Lecturer at Makerere from 1937 to 1947.

Minister of Land and Water Resources—Mr. Matayo Mugwanya, 61. A Muganda. Educated at Kisubi College. A Saza Chief for six years in Government of the Kabaka of Buganda. Omulamuizi (Minister of Justice) in Buganda from 1950 to 1955. Founder president of the Democratic Party.

Minister of Social Development and Labour—Mr. Stanley Bemba, 49. A Muganda. Former warrant officer in King's African Rifles. (*The Times*, April 14.)

The Governor recognized the Uganda People's Congress as the main opposition Party and its president, Mr. Milton Obote, as the leader of the Opposition. (*Guardian*, April 17.)

Buganda's Future

The Governor conveyed a message from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Katikiro of Buganda, in reply to the telegram sent by the Buganda Lukiko to the British Prime Minister on February 11. The Secretary of State said that, concerning Her Majesty's Government's proposals for Uganda which were embodied in the Secretary of State's published Despatch of September 14 he had nothing to add as far as their relevance to the situation in Buganda is concerned, to the observations in his letter of December 2, 1960, to the Kabaka. The letter to the Kabaka was published on December 9 and part of it called upon the Kabaka to join with him and the Governor of Uganda to restore co-operation and goodwill. (*Uganda News*, March 28.)

Eighteen members of the Buganda Lukiko were suspended because they were alleged to have given support to the recent general election for the Uganda Legislative Council. Among the suspended members were Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, leader of the Democratic Party, which won a majority in the elections, Mr. Abubakar Mayanja, Minister of Education in the Buganda Government, and Mr. J. P. Musoke, Minister of Justice. This news brought a quick reaction from the Governor of Uganda who immediately disapproved the Lukiko resolution giving effect to the suspensions. He reminded the Buganda Premier, Mr. Michael Kintu, of that section of Uganda's penal code which provides penalties for abuse of office. (*Guardian*, April 10.)

Eight of the eighteen suspended members were reinstated. They included the Ministers of Justice and of Education. The other suspended members were found "guilty" by an investigating committee of three which was set up by the Lukiko and they will be tried by a special Buganda court. Before his reinstatement the Education Minister, Mr. Mayanja, described the Lukiko decision as an attempt to divert public attention from the

utter failure of Buganda's efforts for separate independence. One of the Lukiko members found guilty is the leader of Uganda's Democratic Party, Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka. (*Guardian*, April 14.)

The Kabaka of Buganda ordered the reinstatement of the remaining ten Lukiko members who had been suspended. The *Guardian* (May 5) described this order as a sharp rebuff for the extreme traditionalists whose ill-considered actions and resolutions have placed the Buganda Government in an impossible position in its relations with the rest of the country.

The Buganda Lukiko decided not to recognize the new Government and it will not have any discussions with the Governor of Uganda if any of his new advisers are present. The Lukiko's argument is that by creating a democratic Legislature and a new Council of Ministers drawn from the Legislature, Britain has created a new Government for Uganda as a whole and one with which the Baganda have no agreement.

It accuses the Protectorate Government of inciting the Kabaka's subjects to disloyalty by encouraging them to register and vote in the general election and claims that the small number of Baganda who did register (about 3 per cent) served as a referendum in support of the Lukiko's policy of secession and separate independence. (*Guardian*, April 14.)

Sir Frederick Crawford, the Governor, said on April 17 in addressing the new Legislative Council, that it was hoped to hold a constitutional conference in London in September. As the present Government would remain in office until a new constitution could be agreed and put into operation, no new elections were contemplated this year. He was answering speculation that early elections will be needed once the Kingdom of Buganda agrees to participate in the Legislature, as the present Buganda members were elected on a small vote. Sir Frederick referred to the work of the committee headed by Lord Munster, which is now in the final stages of the task of examining and recommending on the relationship of the central and local governments here, and said the Commission's report would probably appear early in June.

Emphasizing the importance of the proposed constitutional conference, he said the paramount need was for agreement on Uganda's future pattern of government and a satisfactory relationship of each part of Uganda with the other and with the centre, so that the country could move forward to independence in peace. (*The Times*, April 18.)

New Church Province

The Archbishop of Canterbury officiated at the inauguration of the new Church province of Uganda and Ruanda-Urundi. The ceremony in Namirembe Cathedral completed the process of creating autonomous church provinces in Africa which was begun by Dr. Fisher after the Second World War. Dr. Leslie Brown, formerly Bishop of Namirembe, became the first Archbishop of Uganda, an office to which he had been elected by all the bishops of the province. Among those attending the ceremony were the Archbishops of Cape Town, Central Africa, and East Africa, while the Archbishop of West Africa was represented by the Bishop of Ibadan. (*The Times*, April 17.)

SOUTHERN AFRICA High Commission Territories

Economic Development and the Commonwealth

MR. H. MARQUAND (Labour) asked the Joint Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations why there was a continual delay on the implementation of the Morse Report "Economic Survey of the Territories".¹ Mr. Braine assured him that full account was being taken of its recommendations, and Commonwealth Development and Welfare funds had been made available already to enable the Director of Overseas Services to undertake further aerial survey work in all three Territories. There had also been an increase in teachers' salaries.

¹DIGEST VIII, 3, 4, and 5.

Mr. Marquand then asked if all independent Commonwealth Members in Africa might join with Britain under the Special Commonwealth African Aid Plan, in the rapid economic development of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. But Mr. Braine said he did not believe the needs of the Territories were of a type to be met in this way. He said: It is unlikely that the independent countries of West Africa, grappling with serious development problems of their own, will have resources to spare for the High Commission Territories, whose problems are different from theirs, and, where they are similar, the countries concerned have to give their own needs the first priority. (*Hansard*, April 27.)

A special article in *The Times* (April 27) discussing future development of the Territories said: "One unknown factor which must loom over all considerations of the Territories is the attitude which South Africa is likely to adopt towards them. The signs are that the Republic will have no wish to end the period of relative peace and start prodding for integration. South Africa, after all, has an urgent need to reduce as much as possible the serious economic consequences that could come from the Commonwealth breach. Bilateral customs, fiscal and financial agreements with Britain are of the utmost importance to her. To win a round in the battle for incorporation of the Territories at the expense of the real benefits of economic co-operation with Britain would be a Pyrrhic victory. . . .

"An example of the importance of the South African attitude to the Protectorates is provided by an examination of the proportion of revenue in Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate provided from Customs and Excise receipts from the Union. By long-standing agreement there is free trade between the Territories and the Union, and South Africa pays a proportion of its Customs revenue to the Territories. The proportion was calculated before the First World War as a just assessment of the amount the Territories would have earned had the Customs area not existed.

"In Basutoland, the revenue from this source is about 40 per cent of the total income of the Territory (except for Colonial Development and Welfare funds). In Bechuanaland it is about 30 per cent. If the proportion were recalculated to a percentage more realistic under today's trading conditions the loss to these two Territories would be severe.

"On balance, however, South Africa would be ill-advised to insist on such a recalculation. The amount of money involved is only a minute part of her income and expenditure, and to save it would be no gain by comparison with the loss which would arise out of probable economic estrangement from Britain. Again, South Africa's best interests are likely to be served by playing the matter softly—a truth that must be the most hopeful item in the balance-sheet of arguments now being weighed by the British Government."

Basuto Leader's Resignation

Mr. B. M. Khakete, Member for Health in the Legislative Council, explained the reasons for his resignation from Congress in a statement to *Contact* (March 23). He said: "I had never imagined, nor had I ever dreamed, that a time would come when the Party I loved so much and had done my best to help build up would one day seek to interfere with my religious freedom and dictate how I should worship; but it happened. The shock was very great and it wrenched my heart strings. I was thus compelled, although very reluctantly, to sever my connexions with it, because it had become quite clear to me that my continued membership of the Party would be incompatible with the new policy of dictating how Party members shall worship in 1961. The words that Mr. Mokhehle had addressed to the Pan-African Youth Seminar at Tunis in April, 1960, became clear to me, for he had then said: 'We must look back to our own religion and weed out things that are not compatible with the present. And when we have retrieved our past, we shall have the initiative to go into the future with confidence.'

"How could I still feel happy in the Party when the man with whom I had to work in close collaboration, the man for whom I had the highest regard and loyalty, the man with whom I had worked all these years to build up the Party, obviously no longer had any faith in me and told the people to regard me as a sell-out?

"The nation was convinced that I was working for their interests, and I don't see why they should have any doubts about my integrity today in spite of all the ugly names by which I am now called. I wish to assure the Basotho that I am still what I have always been, that I shall continue to make their interests my sacred trust. I do hope, therefore, that in the light of what I have said they will see things in a different light and regard me as the willing horse I have always been in the past.

"Mr. Mokhehle told *The World* that I 'was never convinced of the B.C.P. policy'. It seems rather odd that while realizing that I was not 'convinced of the B.C.P. policy' the Party should have entrusted me with the big task of drawing up the Party's election manifesto which the 1958 Annual Conference approved unanimously without altering or deleting a word."

Basutoland Strike

The District Commissioner of Maseru, as a result of a strike by African workers, imposed a week-end ban on the holding of public gatherings or meetings of more than three people, except with the permission of the authorities.

This step, apparently never resorted to before in the Territory, was accompanied by a police clean-up of all unemployed not lawfully resident in Maseru. These people were sent back to their villages and persons regarded as vagrants or agitators were detained.

The strike, organized by the General Workers' Union, got out of hand and the union's general secretary acknowledged that he could not control it. At the request of the Basutoland Government the Paramount Chief sent 150 representatives to Maseru to assist the police in keeping the peace. The Basutoland National Party, while critical of the police action, has supported the Paramount Chief. (*The Times*, March 20.)

Mr. Fenner Brockway (Labour) asked the Joint Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations for a statement following the banning of public meetings and the detention of fifty persons in Maseru. Mr. B. Braine replied that a further seven people had been arrested on charges of intimidation. Mr. Braine said hooligans had taken advantage of the situation which arose when a strike spread beyond the control of its organizers. (*Hansard*, May 4.)

Siting of Bechuanaland's Capital

R. H. C. Steed, Commonwealth Affairs correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, wrote (May 10): "It now seems unavoidable that Britain will become involved in another controversy over Mafeking, the small railway town in the dusty West Transvaal. This time, however, the British, far from being besieged, will be trying to get out, while the South Africans will be pressing them to stay.

"The problem arises owing to the curious fact that the headquarters of the Government of the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland are still situated in Mafeking, which is 17 miles inside South African territory. This is a survival from the days when Mafeking was the administrative centre of a far larger Bechuanaland. In 1895 a large part of Bechuanaland, including Mafeking, was ceded to Cape Colony, which later became part of the Union of South Africa. The headquarters of the Bechuanaland Government have remained in Mafeking.

"There is now very strong feeling in Bechuanaland, especially among the Africans, that the time has now come to end this anomaly. This feeling is increasing rapidly with the approach of May 31, the day on which South Africa becomes a Republic. . . .

"African officials, advisers or petitioners wishing to visit Bechuanaland's headquarters must either be back in their own territory before night, or else sleep inside the headquarters, or suffer the humiliation of spending the night in the native town outside European Mafeking. . . .

"African and European officials could commit many technical breaches of the race laws. A European official driving an African woman babysitter home late at night, for example, makes himself liable to prosecution. In fact, however, relations with South African officials are excellent. Prosecution for a technical offence is unlikely, but the position could be embarrassing.

"Indignant Bechuanaland Africans are now saying: 'It is bad enough while South Africa is a Commonwealth country. When she becomes a

completely foreign country it will be quite intolerable. Now is the time to move out.' Another strong argument for moving the Bechuanaland's headquarters from Mafeking is the new Constitution of the Protectorate. It comes into force on June 20. . . .

"The Constitution will set Bechuanaland firmly on the path of becoming a united country, instead of a group of tribes. . . . They want a symbol of their new status. A proper headquarters for parliamentary government and administration is also needed. Another complaint against administration from outside is that despite the efforts in Bechuanaland of resident District Officers and Commissioners, and visits by Mafeking officials, the headquarters is out of touch with the country. European businessmen are as loud as the Africans in their complaints on this score.

"When Bechuanaland's new Legislative Council starts its sessions in temporary quarters at Lobatsi, in Bechuanaland 50 miles by dust road from Mafeking, nearly all the departmental heads will have to work and live in Lobatsi. They would be kept away from their headquarters for weeks on end. This would be bad enough for a wealthy and well-staffed administration. For an administration so short of funds and 'thin on the ground' as that of Bechuanaland, it is bound to cause grave disruption."

Swaziland Progressive Party

The Swaziland Progressive Party held a meeting attended by 300 to campaign for justice and independence.

The chairman of the S.P.P., Mr. D. Dhlamini addressed the meeting and said that the Party's aim was to unite the Swazi people. The Party wanted cheap labour to come to an end, and demanded decent wages and a decent standard of living. He called for progress in industry and the economy. The following resolution was passed: "That immediate action be taken to improve the living conditions and welfare of the following: (a) Aged Africans who cannot support themselves and have no relatives to support them; and (b) widows and orphans whose menfolk fell in the Second World War."

Mr. Dhlamini said in an interview that finance would be a difficulty, but in "two years we will be living in a new Swaziland where there will be neither racial discrimination nor apartheid. We hope all Africans and Whites of goodwill will join us in our struggle for peace and freedom here in Swaziland and the whole continent of Africa". (*Contact*, March 23.)

Economic Survey of Swaziland—II¹

Labour Supply

Although Swaziland is primarily a farming and stock raising country, commercial and industrial enterprises are established and are increasing. The principal projects employed 15,365 (75 per cent males) in 1959 and should employ over 20,000 in 1960-2. The labour turnover in 1959 was about 6,000. There is no general shortage of unskilled labour, but it cannot be said without qualification that future demands will be met. There is a marked shortage of semi-skilled and skilled labour, due in part to inadequate training facilities. The number of male Swazis of wage-earning age is estimated at only 45,000.

The Government is conducting a social survey which should throw light on whether agriculture can release labour, whether individuals are willing to exchange private farming and stock raising and leisure for wage-earning, on what attractions there are outside the Territory for labour and what pay conditions and amenities may in future be offered by employers inside Swaziland. Wages generally are lower than in the Union. In 1958, 7,200 were employed in the Union, mostly in gold and coal mines. Mine workers sent home £114,000 in deferred pay and family remittances. In cash and goods returning labourers brought back about £200,000, and £14,000 in taxes due from recruits was paid by the agencies.

Education

In 1946, 4,760 males and 6,054 female Africans were enrolled in Primary schools and 193 males and 66 females in Secondary. These figures increased to 13,690 males and 14,721 females in Primary and 373 males and 282 females in Secondary schools in 1958. In the same year there were 1,015 European children in Primary schools and 194 in Secondary,

and the number of Eurasians was 508 in Primary and 41 in Secondary, African enrolments in the highest secondary form increased from 193 males and 66 females in 1946 to 373 males and 282 females in 1958. Total Government expenditure on education rose from £179,476 in 1957 to £233,700 (estimate) in 1959-60.

	African	European	Eurasian
	£	£	£
1958 expenditure on education	146,082	81,110	7,673
1958 enrolment figures	..	29,209	1,222
			563

Colonial Development and Welfare and Government and Local Authority Funds met most of this expenditure but the voluntary agencies contributed £26,776 to African education.

Hardly more than 50 per cent of the African children are in school at any one time, though the proportion receiving some education is higher. Many fail to go beyond Standard II (the fourth stage in the eight stages of primary education) so fail to receive instruction in English, and more than half of those who do continue drop out before Standard VI (the last stage in primary education) "and it is doubtful whether many of these attain and retain an effective level of literacy". But there has been a tendency to remain longer at school and in the last decade enrolments have trebled while the total African population has increased by 30 per cent.

Eighty-five per cent of Eurasians are enrolled, and about 98 per cent of the Europeans for whom alone attendance is compulsory. The Eurasians complain that they have no Government school and that the Mission school "type and quality of education leaves much to be desired".

Until recently lack of educational opportunities and job openings have reinforced one another in a vicious circle. Few Swazi qualify for Government or business jobs, and the accepted practice was to fill semi-skilled and skilled jobs from outside. Business leaders have called attention to the deficiencies of vocational education.

The Trade School turns out fifteen to twenty men, but none appear to meet industrial requirements. Clerical training, available only at the Swazi National Secondary School, "is inadequate in quality, in scope and in the number of students trained". Even the educational proposals in the 1960-4 development plan do not meet all requirements. There is need for the selection of students who cannot qualify for more advanced courses. After preliminary training they would be taken into industry and if they proved capable would be given "sandwich courses" of perhaps a year's duration, where they could qualify for more difficult and responsible jobs. Government officials and businessmen are discussing this scheme.

It seems that it would be uneconomic for each of the High Commission Territories to cater separately for vocational and technical training at post-primary, artisan, secondary and post-secondary levels. Consideration should be given to each Territory specializing in the kind of training suitable to its opportunities, and accepting students from the other Territories. An agreement for equalizing the financial burden of this exchange of students should be worked out, and funds additional to those recommended by the Mission for each Territory should be supplied.

The quality and quantity of primary education at least to Standard VI should be increased. Secondary education should be expanded and teaching improved. This would increase the number of candidates for industrial and clerical jobs, and the numbers capable of advancing through the ranks. Teacher training is most inadequate; training is provided only for the "Primary Lower" certificate. Six trainees go to Basutoland each year to study for the "Higher" certificate. Fifty new primary teachers emerge each year but seventy are required to meet the average annual increase in enrolments. Teachers have to be recruited from the Union, which is wrong in principle and difficult owing to higher salaries there. Between 1952 and 1964 (estimate) primary school enrolments will have increased about 2½ times but teachers will only have increased in numbers by less than a third.

The Development Plan proposes to meet this potential shortage by establishing a training centre to turn out sixty teachers a year, who with those from the Nazarene Mission, and those who go elsewhere for training would bring the supply up to the demand. Secondary enrolment is

¹Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland: Report of an Economic Survey. H.M.S.O.

expected to rise to 2,300 in 1965 from 655 in 1958, but there will still be no facilities for training secondary school teachers. An adequate number of places at Roma College in Basutoland, where Swazi students already attend should be assured. It may be necessary for Swaziland to contribute money to the College.

The Development Plan expenditure proposals would cost £474,000. The Mission recommends an additional expenditure of £19,000 in building grants for Swazi primary schools, and primary Eurafrican schools run by the voluntary agencies. They regard the plan as all that can practically be done in four years, but regard it as a minimum, which should be extended thereafter.

Communications, Water, Power and Credit

£800,000 of C.D. & W. funds and a promised loan of £800,000 have been earmarked for road development schemes. The Mission recommends that the balance required, £1,036,000, should be given as a free grant, but if the principle is accepted that loans should not be raised except for self-financing projects this should be raised by another £800,000 expected from the loan. The Road Fund would then, supported also by the Government contribution, and the proceeds of the tax on motor fuel, after completing this heavy capital expenditure, be able to begin general road improvements. A railway line to connect Bombu with Goba is proposed. It would allow the development of coal and anthracite and assist the growth of industry and agriculture at Big Bend, but unless there is large exploitation of coal deposits, a short rail link between Goba and the Swazi road system "might well prove viable in itself".

There is an efficient Hydrological Survey. The Government should discuss with the South African Government its hydro-electricity plans, which may have an effect on irrigation and power projects in Swaziland. The new Water Law should be operated by setting up Water Court, and by creating irrigation districts, the cost of which would be approximately £27,000 over a period of four years, for recurrent expenditure, with a capital cost of £18,000. Rivers in the west are very suitable for the development of hydro-electric power. Schemes have been proposed by consultant engineers, and to encourage a start on them the Mission proposes that, should it be necessary, "interest payments on loans to finance the project and provision for capital redemption should be postponed", in the early years of development. "The Government should lose no opportunity of initiating the project."

The only credit facilities, apart from private lending, are provided by the Standard Bank and Barclays D.C.O. The Government Land and Agricultural Loan Fund lacks the resources to provide credit. Mortgage bonds from the banks bear interest of up to 8 per cent; short term loans are cheaper. Farmers want long-term credit on easier terms, especially to develop land under irrigation. The Mission considers that credit should not be extended, at this time, for these schemes unless the Land Utilization Department is satisfied that they are technically well conceived. Nor should considerable expansion of irrigation be financed until the increase of staff in the Department and the investigations mentioned above have been made.

The most justifiable claims for credit now are those for land reclamation and stock watering, and the purchase of fertilizers, improved seeds, young trees, modern implements, fencing and other agriculture requisites. This credit would assist the Department's programme of land protection and increases in productivity, and most of the loans would be small. A total loan fund of £100,000 has been requested, but the Mission thinks a smaller sum, augmented by the acceptance of deposits, would suffice. As the loans would justify favourable interest rates, or deferred interest and amortization charges, the capital should probably be provided as a grant. The recommendation is that a grant of £50,000 should be given to the Land and Agricultural Fund to enable it to provide small loans to both European and Swazi farmers. They are not convinced of the urgency for an Industrial Development Corporation or an Industrial Credit Bank. "At present it does not appear to us that demands for medium or long-term credit from the smaller types of firms are pressing . . . it would be premature to create now an institution to cater for them." The situation may differ in five or ten years, but it is reasonable to expect "that financial facilities . . . will develop as an integral feature of economic growth".

South Africa, Union of Republican Constitution

THE Bill setting up new Republican Constitution was passed in the House of Assembly by 90 votes to 51, and in the Senate by 34 votes to 10.

The Bill was a revision of the Constitution Bill¹ previously discussed in the Assembly. Although the Select Committee had re-drafted the whole of the Constitution Bill—there were no changes in principle from the South Africa Act.

The recommended changes were adopted almost unanimously by the Government and Opposition representatives on the committee. Most of the alterations are in the Bill's wording and in the sequence of the provisions "to make them more inspiring and more precise".

One of the proposed changes in executive government is that the President may appoint two more Cabinet Ministers than the Governor-General is allowed at present—but the number of Deputy Ministers will be reduced by two. The new Bill provides for eighteen Cabinet Ministers and six deputies.

Another clause makes it clear that the present Government's term of office expires in the normal way on July 4, 1963—if an election has not been held before then. The Government may not claim a new five-year term beginning on the first day Parliament meets under the Republic. (*S.A. Star*, April 1.)

The *S.A. Star* (April 8) commented: "The President is to be vested not only with the powers of the Governor-General but also with those of the Monarch, yet he himself is to be elected by the M.P.s and Senators sitting together, which will make him, like the Prime Minister, a creature of the governing Party's caucus."

"It is a pity therefore that the Bill in its redrafted form has not done more to clear up the doubts that have arisen about the precise powers of the President. It will be recalled that the question was raised whether he could dissent to legislation without the advice of his Cabinet. It was held then that the Governor-General, who has the same general power, was limited by Royal 'instructions', which were in turn drafted by the Cabinet, whereas the President is not so limited.

"It is also a great pity that the Select Committee does not appear to have clarified the position of the clause in the South Africa Act entrenching the two official languages. The Republican Constitution Bill seeks to repeal—and then re-enact and re-entrench—this clause without going through the joint-sitting, two-thirds majority procedure laid down for dealing with entrenchments.

"The Government have apparently been professionally advised that it does not matter, and they are, it seems, glad to take this advice because, since the Senate was re-formed, they no longer have a two-thirds majority anyway.

"It might mean either that the language entrenchment will be no longer valid, or, if it is, that parts of the Republican Constitution will be *ultra vires*—an unfortunate way to begin."

Mr. Charles R. Swart has been elected first President of the Republic. He was previously Governor-General. The Opposition voted for ex-Chief Justice Henry Fagan, but were defeated. Mr. Swart, who is 66, is best known as the Nationalist Minister of Justice who was mainly responsible for the treason trial. (*Guardian*, May 11.)

Commonwealth Withdrawal

Dr. Verwoerd's View

Reporting to Parliament in Cape Town, the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, said there were two reasons why he allowed discussion of South Africa's internal politics at the conference in London.

First, there were the consultations he had earlier with Mr. Macmillan, who made strong attempts—in consultation with other Prime Ministers—to reach agreement in keeping the Commonwealth together. He said that if a discussion of South Africa's colour policy would improve the atmosphere, he would allow this, but he made it plain that he regarded it as "wrong and a dangerous precedent".

¹DIGEST VIII, 5.

Second, he thought it logical that when the request for South Africa to remain in the Commonwealth came up and other members had objections about colour policy, or had doubts and wished to hear the other side, he could not see how their request could be refused. Had he refused, there would have been unpleasantness and the result would have been exactly the same. It was clear that Commonwealth membership meant that South Africa would have been put under restraint in domestic affairs. The republic issue was merely a peg on which to hang the discussion of South Africa's membership. The whole struggle revolved around South Africa's colour policy—not only the Nationalist Party policy.

Dr. Verwoerd said he had done his utmost to retain South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth but the price asked was too high—the downfall of the White man in South Africa. (*Die Burger*, March 24.)

Dr. Verwoerd said that he believed in the co-existence of people but not in the mixing of races. The so-called multi-racial policy in Africa was not a policy of justice towards all races. (*Die Transvaler*, March 24.)

Dr. Verwoerd said he wanted to make three special appeals. Firstly, to the English-speaking. "We can have differences on policy, and particularly on racial policy. The new situation is not necessarily to the detriment of South Africa. For once and for all, there will now be an end to the conflict between Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking." There was now an opportunity to stand together on common ground, the desire for friendship with Britain. The English-speaking must not be allowed to be hurt too much because the framework of the old "family of nations" had fallen away. More important was friendship and the standing together as one nation, a White people who must defend their future together.

Dr. Verwoerd said that in reply to Mr. Menzies, he had stated that South Africa would not establish diplomatic relations with unfriendly nations and with countries which placed obstacles in the way of South Africa, such as economic boycotts. He had shown that in the first place there must be a little more development in the apartheid policy. The appointment of Commissioners-General was already a precursor. South Africa could appoint a travelling ambassador for Africa and receive reciprocal visits. If this had good results, missions of countries could follow. (*Die Burger*, March 24.)

Of Mr. Macmillan, Dr. Verwoerd said: "The attitude for which we stand differs fundamentally from his. Just as the British Prime Minister could criticize the South African policy, I see his policy regarding Africa as wrong."

Dr. Verwoerd referred to the position in Kenya and expressed fears for the Federation. He also criticized the Protectorates policy. He believed that the Protectorates should develop as Black men's countries. This would be the South African policy, not to develop these as multi-racial countries. In Basutoland, for example, the 2,000 White traders were regarded as second-class citizens who could not own land but could get a sort of franchise in the future. "I say that they should not have a franchise there." Dr. Verwoerd said despite these differences there was no reason why Britain and South Africa should not co-operate. (*Die Burger*, March 24.)

Opposition View

The Leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff, said that it appeared that South Africa might have been able to retain membership if Dr. Verwoerd had simply agreed to an exchange of diplomatic representatives with Non-White member States. He accused Dr. Verwoerd of having failed to carry out his mandate, and said that the Prime Minister had failed to prove that this was impossible. "All the Prime Minister was asked to do was to sit still and suffer for South Africa." But the Prime Minister "threw in the sponge".

Sir De Villiers pledged that the United Party would do its utmost to secure South Africa's readmission to the Commonwealth. . . . The U.P. would return the Coloureds to the common roll and they would be allowed to sit in Parliament. . . . The African areas would be given a large measure of self-government. Sir De Villiers envisaged "a federation in which the various groups can live together in harmony and work for the future of South Africa. . . ." (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 24.)

Dr. John Steyler, M.P., leader of the Progressive Party, described the

withdrawal from the Commonwealth as a catastrophe and said that the Union could only be saved from losing her friends throughout the world by radical reforms in her racial policy. (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 27.)

Mr. Harry Oppenheimer described the end of Commonwealth membership as "an unmitigated misfortune. . . . In a dangerous world we are condemned and cast off alone." (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 27.)

Golden City Post (March 19) reported that among Non-White leaders there were many who thought it "a triumph for democracy". Most agreed that the situation would become more tense and bitter immediately. The view was that this was the first political defeat of the N.P. since 1948.

Die Burger (March 27) said of the United Party: "The old leaders and some of the younger ones, too, are behaving as though this Commonwealth question was just another flag conflict or a citizenship conflict; an opportunity to stir up English-speaking feeling against the Nationalists. In reality South Africa is in a crisis of existence, a crisis of adaptation which shows all signs of moving to a peak . . . South Africa is in danger. With its quite unique division of a White minority people dominating a Non-White majority, it had to come into danger through the world revolution in colour relations. The most important discussion point must now be, not who in South Africa contributed to the situation . . . but what adaptations have to be made for survival."

Die Volksbad (March 24) commended Dr. Verwoerd for "the utmost flexibility" and *Die Transvaler* (March 27) criticized Mr. Macmillan for glossing over the behaviour of Commonwealth countries which practised racial discrimination by saying that at least they have the aspiration to multi-racism and commented: "The mistake which South Africa apparently has made in the eyes of the outside world is that it has not yet taken up this word as a weapon in the cold war in which it is landed."

Commons Debate

Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, introducing the Republic of South Africa (Temporary Provisions) Bill said that the actions of the South African Government in establishing a Republic and in leaving the Commonwealth were both outside the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom and therefore did not require legislation in the British Parliament. But they had repercussions of various kinds on the application of numerous laws of the United Kingdom and of British colonies.

There was the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894 which governed the issue of competency certificates to master, mates or engineers on board ship. At present, certificates issued in South Africa are interchangeable with those issued in the United Kingdom. . . . A ship owned by a company incorporated in South Africa would lose its status as a British ship on May 31 unless legislative action was taken to prevent it.

The Colonial Probates Act of 1892 provided for the recognition in the United Kingdom of probate and letters of administration granted in South Africa. . . . The plain withdrawal of recognition would clearly create many complications and hardships.

At present Maintenance Orders made in South Africa could be enforced in the United Kingdom and vice versa; medical and dental and certain legal qualifications obtained in South Africa were at present distinct from those obtained in foreign countries; but this would not be the case after May 31 unless legislation was introduced.

Mr. Sandys said: "Some of the issues of policy involved are reasonably straightforward; others are purely legal, and should not be too difficult to resolve. But there are yet others which present quite difficult human and political problems which will, I think, require a good deal of careful thought. . . . A standstill arrangement is clearly necessary to hold things as they are while study and discussion are going on, and that is the sole purpose of the Bill. The Bill's effect is to ensure that all Acts that would otherwise cease to apply to South Africa will continue to apply to her for a period of not more than one year after May 31 . . . that is the maximum period."

Mr. Sandys said that amongst the questions unaffected by constitutional changes was South Africa's participation in the sterling area; Her Majesty's Government welcomed Dr. Verwoerd's statement that the Union

wished this relationship to continue. Bilateral agreement on trade and defence though unaffected from the legal point of view would naturally have to be reviewed.

Of the High Commission Territories Mr. Sandys said: "We shall continue to be responsible for the Territories as at present, and the pledges that we have given, of course, stand unaltered." He said he would make a separate statement as soon as possible on whether or not the representative of the British Government in the Union would continue to be responsible for the government of the Territories. Until a decision had been taken the existing arrangement would continue, though in his diplomatic capacity the British representative in South Africa would from May 31 have the title and status of Ambassador.

Mr. Sandys said that it was intended to leave unaltered the rights in respect of British nationality now enjoyed by South African citizens. But this was a matter which required most careful thought and on which it would be wrong to try to reach hurried conclusions.

Mr. H. A. Marquand (Labour) said the debate should be regarded as an opportunity to consider what the guiding principles should be in Britain's new relationship with South Africa. The first, surely, should be that the actions which we take do not in any way appear to condone apartheid . . . our relationship with South Africa in future, as with every foreign country, should be the maintenance of the United Nations and its authority.

Mr. Marquand said that his second principle was that we could not allow it to be thought that leaving the Commonwealth makes no difference. Commonwealth trade preferences, he said, would be totally inappropriate in our future trade relations with South Africa.

Referring to the problem of the High Commission Territories, Mr. Marquand said: "We must seek hard to defend the right of the peoples of the High Commission Territories, so long as they need to do so, to pass freely between the Territories and the Union in their pursuit of employment. We must do all we can to ensure that when they are in employment it is on fair terms and that they receive fair treatment within the Union."

He questioned the wisdom of considering that the Ambassador in the Union might also administer the Territories. As an ambassador, he would be employed by the Foreign Office, and no one would seriously suggest that the Foreign Office ought to run the High Commission Territories. At this point Mr. Sandys intervened to say that the decision to give the United Kingdom representative status as an ambassador did not in itself imply any decision about which department would be responsible for continuing the relations between Britain and South Africa.

Mr. Marquand, raising the question on British arms being supplied to South Africa, he said: "We on this side of the House strongly object to any such supply. We regretted very much at the time of Sharpeville that armoured cars manufactured in this country had been used to shoot down those citizens. . . . We must make it seem in all our actions that we not merely refuse to condone the practice and policy of apartheid but that we sympathize with the people forced to live under that evil rule, that we shall do what we can to help them in the new circumstances and that we shall do nothing by the sale of arms or in any other way to strengthen the power which oppresses them."

Mr. E. H. C. Leather (Conservative) said that if in our dealings with South Africa we allowed ourselves to be guided too much by the principles of kindness, we should be in a position of ourselves discounting the Commonwealth. No one forced South Africa out of the Commonwealth. South Africa freely and voluntarily decided to withdraw her application as a result of a situation which she deliberately precipitated and of which she had had due warning over many years from many of her friends.

Mr. Leather denied that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers had infringed the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of a member state. He said no civilized state ever gave one the right to do everything one wanted to do in one's own home, such as beat and maltreat one's children; carry out chemical experiments and pour nauseous and corrosive fumes over the homes of one's neighbours, and store explosives which could menace one's neighbours. Mr. Leather said: "It seems to me that the Nationalist Government of South Africa and their doctrine of apartheid had long since gone beyond the point at which what they were doing remained their own private business. . . . It has bedevilled and

embarrassed every member of the Commonwealth. It has inflamed passions and nourished hatred throughout the whole of Africa. It has many times called into doubt the good faith of Her Majesty's Government itself with the other 70 per cent of the people who are citizens of the Commonwealth and who have coloured skins. I therefore believe that the decision which brought about this Bill was inevitable and right, from our point of view."

Mrs. Barbara Castle (Labour) said: "I want South Africa back, but that means that I want the final and total destruction of apartheid in South Africa, because that is the only basis on which South Africa can come back into the Commonwealth. I am extremely anxious about the tone of the speech of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. . . . We are being asked to approve a twelve-month standstill without any indication of the purpose for which the Government propose to use that period. Will they use it to soften the impact of the severance of the Commonwealth relationship? . . . It is an intolerable infringement of Commonwealth solidarity even to suggest or hint that trade should continue on the same basis as before. Under the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement South Africa is getting a guaranteed market here for 158,000 tons of sugar at a preferential price per ton well above the free market price."

Mrs. Castle supported the South African United Front call for the immediate repeal of the British Nationality Act in so far as South Africa was affected, but she also suggested that we should offer British citizenship to any immigrant from South Africa who comes to this country and who asks for it, on condition that he surrenders his own.

Mr. John Biggs-Davison (Conservative) said: "I deplore the necessity for the Bill, but I support it on the understanding that it is to be a temporary scaffolding for a more lasting structure of close co-operation between the United Kingdom and the Union of South Africa, and a co-operation within the spirit of the sterling area, and a co-operation within the spirit of the 1955 Defence Agreement for the use of Simonstown and other facilities. . . . Common defence is necessary in Southern Africa against aggression, against Communism and against subversion and disruption. . . . This Bill is the consequence of a flagrant failure of Commonwealth statesmanship. The Prime Minister and Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom must accept a heavy burden of responsibility for the melancholy breach which it is the purpose of this Bill to start to mend."

Mr. Fenner Brockway (Labour) in a short speech said that when discrimination was practised in other countries we were ashamed of it, but in South Africa it was their root philosophy. This was the reason why we had the right to say there is a difference between South Africa and other countries where race prejudice existed.

Mr. Bernard Braine, Joint Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, winding up for the Government said that about half South Africa's exports to the United Kingdom, other than gold and uranium, enjoyed preferences in this country and most of them are guaranteed under the bilateral agreement concluded after the Ottawa Conference in 1932. About 20 per cent of our exports enjoyed preferences guaranteed under the same agreement. It should also be said in this context that we share preferences with countries outside the Commonwealth. We should not lightly cast aside advantages of this kind.

The Commonwealth Sugar Agreement is a commercial contract between the United Kingdom Government and the sugar industries in certain Commonwealth countries, and the South African Sugar Association is a party to the agreement, and exports an agreed quota to our market at a negotiated price.

Swaziland also produces sugar but is not a party to the agreement and has not a separate quota of her own. At the moment, however, there are arrangements under which Swaziland sugar up to a certain ceiling in quantity can be sold to the South African market where it receives a proportionate benefit from the export price. We are considering, therefore, what effect the departure from the Commonwealth of South Africa has upon her membership of the agreement.

In conclusion Mr. Braine said: "One simply could not end overnight an association which had existed fifty years. One cannot view South Africa's departure except with sorrow, but it has happened and now we must make the best we can of the situation. . . . The Bill will give us time

to make such a comprehensive survey and to conclude all the necessary arrangements." (*Hansard*, April 24.)

At the United Nations

When India, Malaya, and Ceylon sponsored a resolution condemning apartheid they gained the support of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Peter Smithers explaining the United Kingdom vote in the General Assembly's special political committee, described apartheid as "an essay in the art of folly", and said it had grave international repercussions.

Britain has hitherto abstained on such resolutions before the U.N. General Assembly, but Mr. Smithers said that while still fully supporting the article of the Charter concerning U.N. intervention in a member State's internal affairs, Britain regarded the case of apartheid in present circumstances as unique. "My delegation does not therefore feel inhibited by Article 2 (7) (concerning U.N. intervention) from considering the resolution tabled by Ceylon, Malaya, and India upon its merits."

Alluding to a resolution submitted by twenty-four African nations which called for punitive measures against the Union in the diplomatic and economic fields, Mr. Smithers said any delegation which voted for it was committing itself to breaking off diplomatic relations with South Africa and to the imposition of sanctions.

To deprive oneself of the advantage of a diplomatic mission was to deprive oneself of a prime necessity. And economic sanctions were certain to harm most those very people "whom we and the sponsors desire to help: innocent men and women in South Africa". Economic measures would make a change in Union policy less, rather than more, probable.

Mr. Smithers begged the sponsors of the resolution to "turn back from the dangerous course upon which they are embarked". He asked them to withdraw their resolution, "otherwise . . . my delegation, holding the views which I have expressed, must vote against it". (*Guardian*, April 6.)

When the Asian-sponsored resolution was voted on in the Political Committee there were 93 votes in favour and 1 against (Portugal).

The African-sponsored resolution was passed by 49 in favour, 29 against and 18 abstentions, thus failing to acquire the necessary two-thirds majority to ensure its adoption in the General Assembly.

The five-country Asian resolution in operative clauses:

(i) Deplores such continued and total disregard of the repeated requests of the United Nations by the Government of the Union of South Africa and furthermore its determined aggravation of racial issues by more discriminatory laws and measures and their enforcement, accompanied by violence and bloodshed.

(ii) Deprecates policies based on racial discrimination as reprehensible and repugnant to human dignity.

(iii) Requests all states to consider taking such separate and collective action as is open to them, in conformity with the United Nations Charter, to bring about the abandonment of these policies.

(iv) Affirms that the racial policies being pursued by the Government of the Union of South Africa are a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the declaration of human rights and inconsistent with the obligations of a member state.

(v) Notes with grave concern that these policies have led to international friction and that their continuance endangers international peace and security.

(vi) Reminds the Government of the Union of South Africa of the requirement in article 2, paragraph 2 of the Charter of the United Nations that all members shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them under the Charter.

(vii) Calls upon the Government of the Union of South Africa once again to bring its policies and conduct into conformity with its obligations under the Charter.

On the two most controversial clauses, three and five, Britain was among the ten or eleven countries which abstained on the ground that they went too far in asking for "separate and collective action" by member states, and in asserting that the continuance of apartheid "endangered international peace and security". (*The Times*, April 11.)

Stanley Uys writing in the *Observer* (April 9) said that never before

had Dr. Verwoerd's Government been so shaken as it was when the news came through of the United Kingdom's decision to vote for the resolution.

"The success of Dr. Verwoerd's Commonwealth walk-out had depended entirely on the retention of Britain's friendship. This colossal miscalculation has therefore thrown the Nationalist parliamentary caucus, if not the Cabinet itself, into confusion. . . .

"In a remarkable editorial this week *Die Transvaler* (of which Dr. Verwoerd is chairman) warned its readers that they must prepare to throw overboard as 'excess ballast' the various mistaken views which have been accumulated on race relations in South Africa over the past 300 years. In any other newspaper this kind of talk would be heresy. *Die Transvaler* goes even further; it admits that South Africa's race problem has become an international issue and that unless White South Africans find a solution for it quickly the world will intervene and find a solution for them—which will wipe out the Whites in the process. . . .

"The new apartheid plans will probably have two essential points: increased expenditure on the African reserves to turn them into 'Bantu homelands'; and provision of some kind for urban Africans. Dr. Verwoerd's problem, however, is that he is confined absolutely within the framework of apartheid. The only 'concessions' he can make are in the direction of intensifying a policy which the Non-White population already views with abhorrence.

"*Die Transvaler* has indicated that Dr. Verwoerd is not going to pull South Africa out of the United Nations as readily as he pulled it out of the Commonwealth. He is going to fight to stay in. This in itself is a measure of how his position has weakened since the Commonwealth conference. He can no longer afford to defy the world so brazenly. . . .

"South Africa's international setbacks are described as 'a series of diplomatic Sharpevilles' by the political columnist of *Die Burger*, the Cape Town Nationalist newspaper. He calls on the Nationalist Party to undertake a 'frank, nation-wide enlightenment and discussion campaign' to acquaint the public with the seriousness of the situation . . . and says that the 'persecution' of South Africa at the United Nations follows on the Commonwealth conference in London, where some of the 'last obstacles' in the path of this persecution were swept aside. He continues: 'It is a cruel prospect which opens up before us, and I believe it is bad leadership to present it differently. The people are entitled to the facts in their naked reality, because these are not trivial things which will pass over with a few clever manoeuvres.'"

In Parliament, Dr. Verwoerd said the Government were fully aware of the internal and external dangers threatening South Africa. The Government were giving their full attention to the mobilization of industry to supply the means needed for the country's defence. Had South Africa still belonged to the Commonwealth, it could nevertheless not have expected to receive much help from that quarter.

"As regards this cold war against us, it must be remembered that our sharpest opponents were within the Commonwealth. I can only say that in the past we did not enjoy so much protection as was suggested. We gave co-operation and assistance to others." In the "cold war" there was no doubt on which side South Africa stood. "We have declared from the beginning that we shall stand by our Western friends." (*S.A. Star*, April 15.)

Citizenship Question

The *Law Journal* (London, April 7), discussing the status of South African citizens in Britain now that South Africa was leaving the Commonwealth, said: "The change from a realm to a republic is a change that does require legislation in the United Kingdom, and in the country in question, and the model for this legislation is the Ireland Act of 1949. . . . The 1949 statute declared that in relation to the Republic of Ireland the operation of the British Nationality Act 1948 was not affected. . . .

"The Ireland Act 1949 declared by (2) that notwithstanding that the Republic of Ireland was not part of His Majesty's dominions 'the Republic of Ireland is not a foreign country for the purposes of any law in force in any part of the United Kingdom or in any colony, protectorate or United Kingdom trust territory'. . . .

This declaration operates in spite of any rule or law or of any enactment or instrument whatsoever, whether it was passed or made before or

after the passing of the Act of 1949. This provision was probably held to be desirable because of the proximity of the Republic of Ireland to the United Kingdom, and the result is that citizens of the Republic can come into the United Kingdom without restriction, can live here indefinitely, can work here, and can qualify for the vote on the same terms as persons born within the United Kingdom.

"In the case of South Africa the element of propinquity is not present, but it would seem to be no less desirable that citizens of South Africa should not be treated as aliens in English law, for it is much more convenient that the existing position should remain undisturbed, rather than that a change should be made, the consequences of which would be difficult to forecast in detail and in the changing circumstances of succeeding years."

The Times (March 22) commented: "Though South Africans after May 31 will cease to be our fellow subjects, it will be unnatural to think of them as aliens and uncongenial to treat them as such....

"At present all citizens of the Union, including those who in their own country are relegated to 'Non-European' or other inferior status, are by United Kingdom law Commonwealth citizens. . . . This will remain the position until Parliament amends Section 1 (3) of the British Nationality Act, 1948 (which names South Africa as one of the countries enjoying the privilege), as presumably it will do on the establishment of the Republic. Without doubt many South Africans will be anxious to retain or recover their status of British subjects here as a dual nationality side by side with their Union citizenship; and there will be much sympathy with their desire."

Mr. Macmillan's Speech

The Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, introducing a debate on South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth said Dr. Verwoerd had himself recognized the wide implications of his Government's racial policies when he agreed that they should be discussed at the Prime Ministers' Conference. Mr. Macmillan said: "In this I am sure he was right, for this question had become more than a matter of domestic interest to South Africa. It had aroused widespread international interest and concern. . . . It was even threatening to damage the concept of the Commonwealth itself as a multi-racial association . . . it was impossible to overlook the racial issue."

Mr. Macmillan said he did not accept the view that in future the Commonwealth would become a body for passing judgement on the internal affairs of member countries. He continued: "I have never concealed that in my view there were very good arguments for taking the course of allowing the application of South Africa on constitutional grounds, but at the same time expressing the strongest disapproval of her racial policies. . . .

"All kinds of discrimination—not only racial, but political, religious and cultural—in one form or another have been and are still practised, often as a survival of long traditions. But the fundamental difference between ours and the South African philosophy is that we are trying to escape from these inherited practices. We are trying, with varying degrees of success but always with a single purpose, to move away from this concept in any form. What shocked the Conference was that the policy of the present South African Government appeared to set up what we would regard as an unhappy practice, inherited from the past, perhaps, as a philosophy of action for the future. This philosophy seemed altogether remote from and, indeed, abhorrent to the ideals towards which mankind is struggling in this century, in the free world at any rate, and perhaps—who knows—sooner or later behind the Iron Curtain.

"It was not, therefore, because all of us are without sin that we felt so strongly. It was because this apartheid theory transposes what we regard as a wrong into a right. I do not question the sincerity with which these views are held by many people in South Africa, or their very deep conviction that theirs is the right course in the interests of all races, but we in Britain have never been in doubt that this is a wrong course. . . .

"All this accentuation and systemization of the policy of apartheid is something very new. I am not saying that there was no discrimination in the days of the great South African leaders like Smuts and Botha, but those men had in their minds an inspired vision, and had the intention and

purpose of moving gradually towards it. I still believe that as the years go by this ideal will grow in strength in South Africa."

Mr. Macmillan then said that had Dr. Verwoerd made any concession or given any ground for hope he still thought the Conference would have looked beyond the immediate difficulties to the possibilities of the future. "But the Prime Minister of South Africa, with an honesty which one must recognize, made it abundantly clear beyond all doubt that he would not think it right to relax in any form the extreme rigidity of his dogma, either now or in the future." (*Hansard*, March 22.)

Attitude of the Dutch Reformed Churches

The *Monthly Newsletter* of the Dutch Reformed Church (March 1961) dealt fully with the controversy arising out of the recent conference of South African member churches of the World Council of Churches, held in Johannesburg in December 1960.¹

The *Newsletter* said: Immediately after the conference the deputy moderator of the Transvaal General Synod, the Rev. C. F. B. Naude, in an article in *Dagbreek* (a weekly newspaper) referred to the "threat of serious division" within the ranks of the churches which had been represented at the conference. He stated. . . . It is abundantly clear that the findings of the deliberations are going to have far-reaching results for Church and State, for relationships between Afrikaans- and English-speaking, and for the relationships between Whites and Non-Whites.

The Prime Minister, Dr. the Hon. H. F. Verwoerd, expressed himself cautiously on the resolutions. In his New Year radio message he stated that it was necessary to correct the wrong impression that certain Afrikaans churches had declared their standpoint through recent announcements by individual churchmen. "The churches have in fact not yet spoken," he said. "Through their synods, at which the lay members as well as the clergy will be represented, the voice of the churches has still to be heard." He added that he could not believe that any world organization, be it the United Nations or the World Council of Churches, could make any permanent impression on our South African thinking and actions or our decisions on how to act with justice to all here in practical everyday life.

The chief information officer of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development stated that the Government, with its policy of development for the Bantu areas, had in mind the very things which the World Council of Churches so highly commended. He claimed that the statement, "like so many others of its kind", was deliberately slanted against the positive work of the Government in the Bantu homelands.

Some pro-Government newspapers strongly criticized the conference statement while others showed a more moderate approach. "No matter how beautiful the decisions of the Church conference may sound, the consistent application of these principles would lead to the complete collapse and disappearance of Christianity at the southern point of Africa," said *Die Transvaler*. It argued that some of the decisions revealed considerable ignorance of the domestic situation in the Union.

Die Burger said that Afrikaners had entered upon a period of lively internal discussion about race relations.

Die Burger's political correspondent pointed out that the *Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerk*, through its extensive missionary work, was "knee-deep" in race relations in a more practical sense than a political party which dealt mainly with White people.

The *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk*, whose delegation attended the conference but dissociated itself from the resolutions, issued a statement complaining that it had been unable to muster enough support to defeat any of the controversial resolutions submitted to the conference. In its statement the Church listed its objections against several of the resolutions. The Commission of the General Assembly of the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk* endorsed the attitude of its delegation and decided to recommend to the assembly that the Church should withdraw from the World Council of Churches.

The *moderamen* (executive committee) of the synod of the *Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerk* in the Orange Free State decided to appoint a committee to study the findings of the conference. This Church, like those of

¹DIGEST VIII, 4

Natal and South West Africa, is not a member of the World Council of Churches and was not represented at the conference.

The delegations of the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerke* of the Cape Province and the Transvaal, who had subscribed to most of the conference resolutions, issued a joint statement to explain their attitude. They stated that the Church had a responsibility to test the policies of the State in the light of the word of God. If complete territorial separation was impossible, then full rights, including political rights, could not be indefinitely withheld from those Bantu living in White areas. This standpoint of the Church was well known and had been repeatedly emphasized since 1950. At the same time the Church believed that a policy of separation could be defended from the Christian point of view and was the only realistic solution to the race problem.

"Several parish councils of the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerke* passed resolutions rejecting the conference resolutions and calling for the withdrawal of the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerke* from the World Council of Churches. The delegates were criticized for subscribing to the statement without first obtaining the approval of the synods, and the World Council of Churches for alleged Communist influences, association with the Roman Catholic Church, and humanistic and liberal tendencies.

"The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Joost de Blank, stated in the official journal of the diocese of Cape Town that the delegates of the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerke* at the conference could not have been more helpful or more eager to find common ground with the other delegates. Another Anglican delegate, Mr. Alan Paton, told the Press that at the close of the conference Dr. de Blank had asked the forgiveness of the Dutch Reformed Churches for any hurts that had been inflicted on them. Mr. Paton said he had been impressed by the deep concern of the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerke* for every living person in South Africa. 'As far as human eyes can see, the breach between the Dutch Reformed Churches and the Anglican Church was largely healed,' he said.

"One of the delegates of the Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Robert Orr, stated in an article in the *Presbyterian Leader*: 'No disrespect is intended to the other delegations if I single out the delegations of the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerke* for special mention. They were truly outstanding. . . These men impressed, not only because of their official positions but also because of the depth, sincerity and positive nature of their thinking on the issues before us. Such is the isolationism of the South African church scene that many of us thought that with a few (a very few) heroic exceptions, the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerke* generally took what we would call a "negative view" with regard to race relations. One of the great benefits of this conference was that it showed us how wrong we were.'"

The *Hervormde Kerke* subsequently adopted its delegations' recommendations to withdraw from the World Council of Churches, and its example was followed, on April 10, by the Transvaal Synod of the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerke*, the biggest of the Dutch Reformed Churches. The deputy moderator, the Rev. A. J. V. Burger, said he regarded the decision to break away with regret, but in the light of recent events it was almost impossible for the Church to continue membership.

The only one of the Dutch Reformed Churches still affiliated to the World Council is the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerke* in Cape Province. (*Guardian*, April 11.)

*Delayed Action*¹ by eleven D.R.S. leaders has frequently come under heavy attack from laymen and ministers of the Church. A protest meeting was called in Britz, but according to one of the authors, Dr. Ben Marais, a well-known Afrikaans journalist sought in vain amongst the audience for anyone who had read the book.

Natal Convention

More than 200 delegates of all races attended a Natal Convention from April 17-20. The delegates were from political, religious, industrial, economic, and academic fields.

Opening the conference Dr. Edgar Brookes, professor of history and
¹DIGEST VIII, 4.

political science at Natal University, said: "We need a fighting spirit, but we must fight the real enemy. The real enemy is not the White man or Black man, Afrikaner, African, Indian or Coloured man, or the rest of South Africa or the United Nations. The real enemy is greed and complacency, and laziness, malnutrition and disease, ignorance and wrong indoctrination, tyranny and injustice. We cannot conquer this enemy except by united action. We cannot share the future very effectively if we are at the same time trying to grab more than our fair share of it."

On the social aspects of the racial complex, Professor L. Kuper, professor of sociology at Natal University, said the extent and nature of the protests and disturbances against existing conditions in South Africa indicated a pathological situation.

The final report of the conference which was read by the Most Rev. D. E. Hurley, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, advocated radical changes in the country's political, economic, and social structure. The convention unanimously supported an extension of the franchise to Non-Whites at all levels—parliamentary, provincial and municipal.

There was some division of opinion on the application of this principle. Some delegates strongly favoured the immediate implementation of general adult suffrage while others preferred a qualified franchise as an interim measure.

Other major decisions were:

The convention rejected apartheid and strongly advocated a policy of true national unity to be worked out by all people of South Africa irrespective of race.

It recognized that racial discrimination was a major source of conflict and that this should be systematically removed.

The convention supported the principle of integration in education; the Group Areas Act should be repealed immediately and segregation should be abolished in entertainments, public transport, and some places of worship.

It regarded the effects of the industrial colour bar and racial job reservation as wholly bad.

The report stated that while not all recommendations were unanimous they all reflected the general mass of opinion among delegates. Steps are being considered in accordance with the opinion expressed in the final report, to organize a national convention "to follow on where the Natal convention has pioneered". (*The Times*, April 21.)

Pietermaritzburg Conference

At the All African People's Conference, held in Pietermaritzburg on March 25, 1,398 delegates, said to represent 145 organizations, issued an ultimatum to the Union Government, calling on the Government to convene a National Convention which would draw up a constitution for all the peoples of South Africa.

The resolution stated: "We demand a National Convention of elected representatives of adult men and women on an equal basis, irrespective of race, colour or creed or other limitation, to be called by the Union Government not later than May 31:

"We demand that the Convention shall have sovereign powers to determine, in any way the majority of delegates shall decide, a new non-racial democratic constitution for South Africa.

"We resolve that should the minority Government refuse the demand of representatives of the united will of the African people

(a) We will stage country-wide demonstrations on the eve of the Republic. We shall call upon Africans not to co-operate or collaborate in any way with the proposed Republic or any form of government which rests on force to perpetuate the tyranny of the minority.

(b) We also call on all Indians, Coloureds and democratic Europeans to join forces with the Africans in opposition to a régime which is bringing disaster to South Africa. We further decide that in order to further the objects of this conference, the conference elects a national action committee; instructs all delegates to return to their areas and form local action committees."

This conference was arranged by a "continuation committee" which was formed at the meeting in Orlando, Johannesburg, of African leaders in December 1960.

A week before the conference was due to take place, the majority of the members of the continuation committee, including those who had resigned, were arrested by the Security Branch.

Contact (April 6) reported that those present were predominantly former members of the banned A.N.C. This feature was emphasized by the mistake made by Mr. Nyembe (chairman) who, in his opening address, welcomed delegates "in the name of Congress" but he was quick to correct himself.

Mr. Nelson Mandela, former Transvaal A.N.C. president and treason trialist, whose ban on attending meetings expired on March 14, was the first delegate to address the assembly. Bearded in the new nationalist fashion he was the star of the show. He said that the first purpose of the conference was to achieve unity among the African people. The second purpose was "to demand that a National Convention elected on an equal basis, irrespective of differences of race, colour and creed, be called by the Union Government".

Mr. Mandela said: "If the Nationalist Government refuses to call this convention, we call upon the African people to refuse to co-operate with such a Republic or with any form of government which rests on force and suppression. The Government, although it is determined to use force, is weak both internally and internationally. We know that our victory will be won by militant campaigns launched in this country by us and guided by us. You must be inspired by the knowledge that your cause is strong and invincible and that your struggle is supported in all parts of the world where freedom is invincible."

Treason Trial Ends

There were scenes of rejoicing in court when the treason trial ended with the acquittal of the last twenty-eight defendants. Mr. Justice Rumpff said the State had failed to prove that a number of organizations had advocated a policy of violence to overthrow the Government.

The trial proper had begun in August 1958 but the defendants had been before the courts since December 1956 when the treason charges were first laid and 156 people were arrested.

Mr. Justice Rumpff, announcing that the decision of the three judges trying the case was unanimous, told the defence they need not argue further. It had been proved the accused were working to replace the present form of state by a radically different one—but it was not proved this was a Communist one.

He said while the prosecution succeeded in showing that the programme of action contemplated the use of illegal methods, and its application in fact resulted in illegal action, "it is impossible for the Court to come to the conclusion that the A.N.C. acquired or adopted a policy to overthrow the State by violence—that is, in the sense that the masses had to be prepared or conditioned to commit direct acts of violence against the State".

The Crown cannot appeal against the verdict since it was given on a question of fact and not on points of law. (*Guardian*, March 30.)

Commenting on the verdict, Sir de Villiers Graaff, said it showed that no South African Government could hope to use the courts as an instrument of political policy. This comes well at a time when many of our institutions have become suspect in the eyes of the world. That South African justice is—as all in our country know—unpolluted by politics will greatly encourage our overseas friends and confound our enemies.

The Sunday Times (April 2) commented: "This 'vindication of the processes of justice', to quote the Archbishop of Cape Town, is all the more striking because it has been achieved in face of unsparing expenditure of money and effort by the Union Government to press home its charges. It is unlikely that the Minister of Justice foresaw four years ago that more than £200,000 would be subscribed, by South Africans as well as sympathizers abroad, to sustain the defence in this war of attrition. . . ."

Patrick Keatley writing in the *Guardian* (March 30) said: "Paradoxically, it seems likely that the verdict in the treason trial will come as an enormous relief to the Verwoerd Administration. The ineptness of the prosecution and the ludicrously drawn-out proceedings—for some of the defendants this was their fifth year of continuous agony before the bar of justice—meant that the legal performance in the converted synagogue at Pretoria had become a continuous embarrassment for the Nationalist Government. . . .

"Now that the trial is over, it should not be supposed that the burden borne by the defendants for the past four years has been lifted. As Dr. Reeves, the former Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, remarked in London last night: 'You can imagine how easy it will be to find jobs for people whose names have been very publicly associated with treason and conspiracy for the past four years, even if the charges have not been proved.' Canon L. John Collins, the chairman of Christian Action and founder of its Defence Fund which has since contributed more than £80,000 to the costs of the trial, said last night that it was 'a great victory against apartheid and for the rule of law'."

South Africa (April 8) described the treason trial as one of the most ham-handed actions ever instituted by the Government. What began with a bang that echoed round the world in 1956 has now ended with a whimper. If the Government had gone out of its way to find a means of discrediting South Africa in the eyes of the world it could not have done better than to mount the treason trial in the way it did.

"Now that the case is over (without the Court even bothering to hear the defence in full) South Africa may well ask itself why the Government was led to institute proceedings for high treason on the sort of 'evidence' which it produced. An examination of motive in this direction may prove far more rewarding than the indulgence of a self-congratulatory feeling that the case has shown that the South African judiciary's integrity still remains intact. The Government, confronted by that integrity in the past, has not hesitated to legislate its way round it, and it is quite capable of repeating this performance. The integrity of the judiciary is not of great account if the law it has to administer is of itself unjust."

Government spokesmen are reported to have said that the present common law concept of treason based on Roman-Dutch principles is obsolete. It should be replaced by a new statutory definition aimed at safeguarding the security of the State as now constituted under White rule if threatened by systematic attempts to establish a Black régime. It was felt, said the sources, that "the law must keep pace with the new methods and techniques menacing the safety of the White State".

Demonstrations and Arrests

Africans in Warmbaths location went on strike when Mr. Marthinus van Coller was reappointed manager of the Municipal Native Affairs Department. Mr. van Coller had been found guilty and sentenced to six months' imprisonment under the Immorality Act in November 1959. The sentence was subsequently set aside and Mr. van Coller contested the action of the Warmbaths municipality in suspending him. His claim for reinstatement was upheld by the Department of Bantu Development and Administration. (*S.A. Star*, April 29.)

Police fired, killing two Africans, following the demonstrations against Mr. van Coller's appointment. It was reported that a crowd was throwing stones at the police.

The Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr. de Wet Nel, announced that he was appointing Mr. N. J. P. Connell to inquire into the grievances of the inhabitants of Warmbaths Location, and to report to him as soon as possible. (*S.A. Star*, May 6.)

About 600 Indian and Coloured demonstrators marched on Residencia town hall in protest against the Group Areas Act, but were halted by the police. It was the first time in recent years that Indians and Coloureds had demonstrated publicly in the Transvaal. Normally they avoid becoming involved in racial incidents. The procession broke up when the police told Mr. Solly Nathie, the chairman of the local branch of the Transvaal Indian Congress, that it contravened the by-laws. When he advised his followers to disperse and proceed independently to the town hall, where a committee appointed by the Group Areas Board was sitting, Mr. Nathie was arrested. (*The Times*, May 9.)

Thirty Pondo tribesmen appeared at a preparatory examination into the allegation of murder of a sub-chief and his bodyguard in the magistrate's court in Kokstad, East Griqualand, on March 14. Six others are sought on similar charges. Another court in the same town is hearing charges of arson and offences against the Bantu Authorities legislation. *The Times* (March 15) reported that hundreds of those charged were

crowded into five prisons and it was expected that the number of accused would finally total at least 600.

Six Pondo tribesmen were each sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment with six months conditionally suspended, on charges of taking part in a meeting of over ten people during the disturbances last year. It was alleged that the meeting was in support of a campaign against the Bantu Authorities Act and the Native Taxation and Development Act. (*South Africa*, April 29.)

It was reported that nation-wide demonstrations would take place by Africans and Coloureds for May 31—republic day. The demonstrations will be a protest against the Government's refusal to hold a National Convention of all races. A National Action Council was formed in Johannesburg to carry out the plans for the demonstrations, and a resolution pledging full support was adopted at a rally of 5,000 Coloured people in Cape Town. Mr. George Peake, a city councillor and an executive member of the All-African Congress, told the Coloureds: "This time, when the Africans move, see that you move with them." (*South Africa*, April 22.)

At a Press conference in London, the South African United Front called on the British people to observe May 31 as a day of solidarity by holding meetings and expressing support for the campaign in South Africa, and by intensifying the boycott of South African goods and by demanding that Britain should stop supplying arms to South Africa and refrain from entering into bi-lateral trade and financial agreements with the South African Government.

The police started a series of raids on homes of sympathizers with the Congress plans on May 3. No arrests were reported on this occasion but previously several of those concerned with the organization of meetings and conferences were arrested.

The following were arrested on March 20: Mr. Jordan Ngubane, vice-president of the Liberal Party; Mr. Hyacinth J. Bengu, a lawyer who was remanded on bail of £250; Mr. Julius Malie, Transvaal organizer of the Liberal Party, and acting chairman of continuation committee of the Pietermaritzburg conference; Mr. W. B. Ngakane of Johannesburg; Mr. Paul Mosaka, former president of the Johannesburg African Chamber of Commerce; the Rev. B. R. Rajuili, secretary of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation; Mr. Mark Shope of Johannesburg; and Mr. C. Mbatha of the Institute of Race Relations.

In April charges were brought against Mr. Joseph Molifi and Mr. Duma Nokwe, both of whom had recently been defendants in the Treason Trial. Mr. Molifi was charged with being a member of the illegal Pan-Africanist Congress and with carrying on its illegal activities. Mr. Duma Nokwe was also charged under the Unlawful Organizations Act and the Suppression of Communism Act. (*South Africa*, April 22.)

S.A.B.C. and Press Freedom

Mr. Gideon Roos has resigned his post of Director-General of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. He made no comment but the Board of Governors said that the post to which he was appointed in 1949 had "fallen away". The *S.A. Star* (April 15) said that in fact Mr. Roos's duties had been taken over by the Board which was originally advisory to the Director-General. The result was that the chairman, Dr. P. J. Meyer, had become effective head of broadcasting.

The *S.A. Star* (April 22) commented: "It is quite clear to everyone who has followed the developments since Dr. Meyer became chairman of the board that Mr. Roos has been humiliated and ignored to the point where his resignation was inevitable. So the Corporation has lost a wise and patient man whose whole career has been devoted to broadcasting. We believe that his resignation is a disaster both for the S.A.B.C. and for South Africa."

Concern was expressed at the possibility of restrictions on the freedom of the Press. In Parliament, Dr. Verwoerd said that unless the Press organized some form of self-control the Government might be forced to take steps. He said he did not believe in the imposition of external controls on the Press. The Press was going far beyond what freedom of the Press

meant and was approaching very closely to licence. He referred to "untruths being sent overseas through the channels of the South African Press". (*S.A. Star*, April 14.)

The *Sunday Tribune* (April 16) referred to a "direct threat" on the Press by the Prime Minister. "The mere recording of the Prime Minister's words overseas will do more harm to South Africa than he possibly realizes." Many papers agreed with the idea of a Press Council but, said the *Cape Times* (April 15), "this newspaper is not prepared to accept a Press Council which is a disguised instrument for the suppression of facts and opinions disliked by or inconvenient to the politicians".

The resignation of Mr. Roos, of S.A.B.C., aroused a great deal of comment. Regret at the loss of "a great builder and leader" was expressed by *Die Burger* (April 13). "The implication is that the Corporation can afford it and that equally able or abler men will see that the radio does not suffer in quality, organization and development. The S.A.B.C. will be watched more than ever with an eagle eye, and it will not be possible to ascribe all vigilance to prejudice or hostility."

Dagbreek (April 14) said that the statement by the Board of the S.A.B.C. on the resignation of Mr. Roos had left many listeners with a feeling of consternation. "The uninformed outsider will find it difficult to reconcile the gigantic expansion plans of our radio service with a re-organization which puts its highest and most experienced official in a comparatively unimportant post."

The *Cape Times* (April 13), said that Mr. Roos had never concealed his Nationalist sympathies but was first and foremost a good public servant and first-class professional. The first symptom of deterioration became evident when Dr. Verwoerd gained control of the N.P., and Dr. Meyer was appointed chairman of the Board of Governors. "Dr. Meyer is a racist fanatic, a former officer of the Ossewa Brandwag and secretary of the F.A.K. and the author of books which bring God and Calvinism to witness the rightness of Verwoerdism, condemn 'the Afrikaner intellectuals' and propagate the doctrine that in a 'Christian State' authority resides in the will of God, not in the will of the people. . . . The second main symptom was the appointment of Mr. Kruger, the editor of the bitterest and most bigoted of the Nationalist newspapers, to the specially created office of 'cultural adviser'."

Crime and Police Reorganization

The annual report of the South African Commissioner of Police for 1959 shows an increase of 23,787 cases of serious crime. The number of reported cases in 1959 was 263,031—the highest ever. Criminal acts of violence were responsible for the loss of 5,262 lives, an increase of 532 over 1958. Allegations of murder or suspected murder reported during 1959 (excluding 483 cases reduced to culpable homicide) numbered 3,711, compared with 3,425 in 1958. Culpable homicide cases increased from 2,315 in 1958 to 2,452 in 1959.

The actual number prosecuted was 1,810,027 in an estimated population of 15,361,000, giving 118 prosecutions per 1,000 of the population.

Among the offences for which people were prosecuted were: Illegal possession of African liquor—177,702; registration and production of documents by Africans—142,959.

A total of 302 White men were convicted under the Immorality Act in 1959, compared with 12 White women, 19 Non-White men and 225 Non-White women.

The Minister of Justice, Mr. Erasmus, has announced the Government's intention of amending the Police Act. Mr. Erasmus said: "Changed conditions make it imperative that the police should at all times be ready for action to ensure internal security. As with the Defence Force, the police must be equipped with the most modern equipment to crush any threat to internal security."

The reserve would assist with usual duties when the "police are engaged on other essential services."

"Membership will provisionally be limited to White citizens who will be prepared to undergo training at police stations voluntarily and without pay. Courses at the Police College will also be considered at a later stage." (*S.A. Star*, March 11.)

Citizen Force Strengthened

Mr. J. J. Fouche, Minister of Defence, outlining his policy in the Senate, announced an increase in the effective strength of the army, the development of the planning and intelligence sections and the local manufacture of a greater range of weapons. He said the defence force was responsible as much for internal as for external security. The Commandos (citizen force rural regiments) are to be developed, with special platoons to undertake local defence in their own districts.

Since it was his policy that both language groups should be responsible for the defence of the country, he proposed developing English-language Commandos as well as the present ones, which were mostly manned by Afrikaans-speaking men. The available manpower would be increased by raising the period of training for Active Citizen Force trainees from three to nine months in the first year. (*The Times*, April 27.)

Mr. Fouche said: "At present the tendency is for unrest to spread southward, and it has already affected Angola. We are watching the situation extremely closely in case it spreads farther south so that we can take timely action to meet whatever dangers confront us."

The Opposition, which found his speech "unrealistic", demanded a secret session of both Houses of Parliament so that members of Parliament could be fully informed of South Africa's military predicament. This was refused. (*Guardian*, April 27.)

A special correspondent of the *S.A. Star* (April 29) said that the extension of the training period to nine months would affect commerce and industry. A private's pay is 5s. a day and employers were not compelled to augment this but they were bound to reinstate an employee who had been absent on military service.

Economic Scene

In an editorial *Barclays Bank Overseas Review* (April 1961) said: The close connexions between South Africa and the City of London are not solely due to reasons of history or of mutual Commonwealth membership. Above all other reasons British investment has been made in South Africa because of the economic potentialities of the country and of the presence there of entrepreneurs of British origin. In recent months, confidence in the Union's future has been badly shaken and the inward investment flow has dwindled, but the setting up in South Africa of subsidiaries of British firms has continued so that the inward flow has never dried up completely.

On the other side of the account, the sales of gold mining, financial and industrial stocks and shares have caused an outflow, estimated to have been some £100 million in 1960; it is not known how much of this figure represented British sales and there is still almost £1,000 million of British capital invested in South Africa. The mass withdrawal would be virtually impossible, even if permitted, while much of the liquid foreign capital has already gone.

The position as regards trade relationships is less clear, but here, too, it is believed that any weakening is neither necessary nor desirable. In 1960, South Africa took £157.6 million of her imports from the United Kingdom—a share which has been shrinking in recent years but is still sufficient to keep the United Kingdom as easily the Union's most important supplier. As a market for South African produce the United Kingdom is of even greater importance, taking £113.7 million worth, or 28.8 per cent of the total: if re-exports and gold were included, the proportion would be much higher. How far is this volume of trade due to Commonwealth preference and should such preference be continued?

Commonwealth preference is no universal system; it is a series of bilateral agreements between the United Kingdom and the other members themselves (for instance, the important agreement between South Africa and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland). Most of these agreements were negotiated at the time of the Ottawa conference of 1932 and have since diminished in value for two reasons. Firstly, many of the preferences granted, particularly by the United Kingdom, were specific rates which have not changed with the depreciated value of money; secondly, the changing pattern of trade has diminished the value of preferences as these, for instance, cover neither new products nor most capital goods. A recent study by the "Economist Intelligence Unit" suggests that the entire abolition of preferences by the Union would have negligible effects for

United Kingdom exports, save perhaps in some branches of electrical goods.

But the abolition of preferences might do more harm to some South African exports. The preference obtained on fresh fruits is small, but its abolition might just give an edge to her competitors; the United Kingdom market is worth from £15 million to £20 million to South African fruit growers. The preference on canned fruit is greater—some 12 per cent, *ad valorem*—but the protection thereby afforded is, in practice, less important than that deriving from the fact that there are still quotas in the United Kingdom on imports from dollar sources. South African wines also enjoy a useful preference. One of the most important zones of protection for South African exports comes from the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement, under which 157,000 tons of South African sugar are purchased by the United Kingdom at a guaranteed price. The loss of this guaranteed market would hit the sugar industry hard, and particularly the expanding production of Swaziland.

An article in an earlier number of the *Overseas Review* (February 1961) said that the gold and foreign exchange reserves held by the South African Reserve Bank fell from £152 million at the end of 1959 to £85.5 million at the end of 1960, and the latter figure was bolstered by £4 million received under a stand-by credit of £13.4 million arranged with the International Monetary Fund. While it is evident from the timing that a considerable part of the withdrawals were due to nervousness about the political future, it must also be remembered that interest rates throughout the year have been generally much higher in London than in Johannesburg; there has been a considerable movement of short-term funds attracted by higher rates. The trade deficit in 1960 was due to a high level of imports. In 1959, monetary and other restrictive measures had kept imports below £500 million. Relaxations in control for 1960 allowed them to increase. The South African ratio of imports to national income is very high and they are always tending to get out of control and cause balance of payments difficulties, a trend with which the United Kingdom itself is also familiar. The increase in South African imports in 1960 unfortunately more than counterbalanced the expansion in exports and gold production to record figures.

The difficulties South Africa experienced in 1960 must not blind the observer to the inherent economic strength of the country and the continued development which is taking place. In the year to June 30, 1960, the gross national product increased by 5.9 per cent, compared with the previous year, and a further rise, though possibly at a reduced rate, is expected in 1960-1. Prices during the year have shown only small rises, so that after allowing for the normal growth in population, there has been a moderate increase in real income per head. Among the basic components of the national income, the most notable change in the last decade has been the decline in the relative importance of agriculture and the continued growth of mining and industry.

Official figures for the first quarter of 1961 showed that the improvement in South Africa's trading position was maintained. Imports rose by nearly £6 million, compared with last year, while exports increased by £10 million. After taking account of invisible items, it is estimated that there was a favourable balance of about £20 million.

This, however, emphasized the drain of funds from the Union, because foreign exchange reserves fell by about £6 million, during the quarter instead of rising by £20 million. Thus the loss of money abroad from January to March was approximately £26 million. (*The Times*, April 20.)

On May 4 the Minister of Finance, Mr. T. E. Donges, announced that the bank rate was to be increased from 4½ to 5 per cent, and that there were to be restrictions on the amount of money taken overseas by tourists.

South West Africa

Voting at the U.N.

In a more overwhelming vote than in its Trusteeship Committee three days before, the General Assembly on March 16 passed a resolution by 74

votes to none, with 9 abstentions, calling on members "which have particularly close and continuous relations" with South Africa to influence her towards changing her racial policies in South West Africa and to carry out the various U.N. resolutions on the administration of the territory. It noted the Union's refusal to allow a U.N. committee to visit the territory, its refusal to administer the territory under a U.N. trust agreement, and its continued assimilation of the territory. Among the Commonwealth countries all except Britain and Australia voted in favour. These two countries abstained, as did Belgium, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Luxembourg, Portugal, and Spain.

The British delegate, in explaining his vote, said Britain had always worked for a negotiated settlement of the problem of South West Africa. But he did not think the resolution before them was in the real interest of the people of the territory in so far as it sought to take a short cut by ignoring legal and juridical considerations. It clearly prejudiced the issue that the International Court had been asked to decide. The resolution also sought to take action far beyond the powers which the U.N. could exercise under the mandate.

The delegate of Guinea stated that he and other delegates intended to introduce during the present session a resolution seeking a definite solution to the question of South West Africa. The Soviet delegate also thought the present resolution was inadequate. In his view the Assembly ought immediately to annul the mandate for South West Africa and turn over the administration of the territory to a committee consisting of representatives of independent African States. (*Guardian*, March 17.)

On March 21, 1961, India introduced a draft resolution in the Fourth Committee requesting "The committee on South West Africa immediately to proceed in the discharge of the special and urgent tasks entrusted to it". These tasks are to make an on-the-spot investigation in the territory and report back with recommendations for granting the territory a wide measure of self-government leading to complete independence as soon as possible. The resolution added that the committee should do this "as fully and expeditiously as possible with the co-operation of the Government of the Union of South Africa if such co-operation be available and without it if necessary".

Mr. Jha (India) said: "The Union Government raised the *sub judice* plea to gain time and to push forward its own sinister designs in South West Africa." Such a plea was inapplicable as the suit before the International Court had not been instituted by the U.N. but by two nations (Liberia and Ethiopia) that were members of the League of Nations which sanctioned the mandate for the territory. The Indian delegate also rejected the claims that a visit by the Committee would exceed the terms of the mandate.

"The position today in brief is that the Union Government has once again categorically refused to co-operate with the U.N. in the implementation of the Assembly's resolutions and this position the Assembly must totally reject," he said. "In the face of this refusal we cannot sit back and accept that it is the inherent right of the Union Government to flout the mandate, to flout the will of the people and to flout the Assembly in the discharge of its obligations towards these people." He hoped that the Union Government would not aggravate the situation by adopting "an impossible attitude" over this new call for a visit of the U.N. Committee on South West Africa. "By doing so it will only precipitate further dangers to the international peace and security which already exist in a large measure on account of the application in the mandated territory of South West Africa of the policy of apartheid."

Mr. Bingham (United States) said that the resolution also requested member U.N. States to extend to the Committee "such assistance as it may require in the discharge" of its tasks, and that the United States believed that this and the section calling on the Committee to proceed represented what it hoped were measures which would result in some concrete improvement in the situation in South West Africa. The United States would give its support on the understanding that these measures were not to be construed as contemplating the use of force or deception, he said, adding that if this understanding was not agreeable, the matter should be clarified. "We also notice the fact that the Union Government has not assured the United Nations that it would accept the rulings of the International Court of

Justice," he said. Nor did the United States accept the contention of the Union Government that a visit by the committee to South West Africa would be an exercise of supervisory power not warranted by the mandate, he added. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, March 22.)

The Committee adopted the resolution recommending to the General Assembly that it reject the position taken by the Government of South Africa "in refusing to co-operate with the United Nations" and requesting the Assembly's South West Africa Committee immediately to discharge certain investigatory tasks with the co-operation of the Union Government if possible and "without it if necessary". Changes in the wording had been made to meet the United States delegate's objections. The resolution received 76 votes in favour, including that of the United States, and none against. Britain was among the six abstaining countries. (*The Times*, March 25.)

South Africa came under the sharpest U.N. General Assembly criticism yet of its policies in South West Africa on April 6 when the resolution recommended by the trusteeship council which *inter alia* deplored "attempts at the assimilation" of that territory and drew the attention of the Security Council to a situation "which if allowed to continue, will, in the General Assembly's view, endanger international peace and security", was approved by 84 votes to none with 8 abstentions (Britain, Australia, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain). (*The Times*, April 8.)

The South African delegation was represented in the Assembly but did not answer when the roll-call vote was taken.

Commenting on the United Kingdom's abstention, the *Guardian* (April 8) said it was made on the ground that the future of South West Africa had been referred to the International Court for decision and was *sub judice*. This was only half the truth. "The proceedings begun in the Court in the names of Liberia and Ethiopia are to determine whether or not South Africa is in breach of her obligations under the League of Nations mandate and whether the Court should declare that the Union Government had the duty forthwith to stop practising apartheid in the mandated territory. The motion attacked the problem from the political rather than the legal standpoint. Irrespective of the Court's finding, the General Assembly is entitled to give an opinion in favour of independence for South West Africa (though whether it is entitled to abrogate a mandate conferred by the League is a matter which has never been decided). If it is accepted that South West Africa is 'foreign' to South Africa, it is in order to speak of a threat to 'international' peace.

"Britain would therefore have been entitled to vote in favour of this expression of opinion and in failing to do so she aligned herself once again with those Powers whose opposition to apartheid is the most docile. Another chance to vote on the future of South West Africa will come at the next session of the Assembly when South Africa will have become a republic. If South Africa continues to base her policy on the legal quibble that the mandate was conferred on her by the League and cannot be removed by the United Nations, Britain can reply that the mandate was conferred 'upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf' by the South African Government. After May 31, South Africa will no longer be able to act on behalf of the Queen, and it can be argued that, if the express terms of the mandate exclude it from translation into a trust, the same terms exclude its exercise except on behalf of Her Britannic Majesty."

Parliamentary Discussion

On March 9 Mr. Dingle Foot (Labour) attempted to get an emergency debate by moving the adjournment of the House "on a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the refusal of the Government to give any assurance that they would raise at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference the question of the future of the mandate for South West Africa in accordance with a resolution passed by the House on December 15, 1960".¹ but the Speaker rejected the motion.

On March 14, Mr. H. Marquand (Labour) asked the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations what action was being taken by the Government as a result of the resolution of the U.N. Trusteeship Committee on March 13.² Mr. B. Braine, Under-Secretary of State for Com-

¹DIGEST VIII, 4.

²DIGEST VIII, 5.

monwealth Relations, replied that the resolution was being studied. He said the vote was taken at very short notice and that Britain, along with Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Ghana abstained because their delegations were unable in the time to obtain instructions and take decisions on the merits of the resolution.

Mr. Marquand remarked that a further addition to the long and disastrous record of abstentions by the British Government was no excuse for ignoring the resolution passed by the House on December 15. Mr. Gaitskell (Labour) said the U.N. committee had passed, without anybody voting against, a resolution which invited members of the Commonwealth, and perhaps the British Government in particular, to use their influence with the Government of the Union of South Africa. He asked that this should be considered at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. (*The Times*, March 15.)

On April 27, Mr. J. Stonehouse (Labour) asked the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations if he would take steps at the U.N. to secure the transfer of the mandate to the United Kingdom in view of South Africa becoming a republic. Mr. Braine replied that the Union's change of status would in no way affect its rights and obligations under the mandate.

Mr. Callaghan (Labour) felt that whatever rights the South African Government might have possessed had been forfeited by their failure to account for their trusteeship and in view of the fact that they had repeatedly flouted the authority of the U.N. he asked why no steps were being taken to remove the mandate. Mr. Braine replied that this was largely a matter for the U.N. and it would anyhow be improper for him to comment as the question was before the International Court.

On being pressed for a reply as to whether the Union Government would not have got the mandate if it had not been in the Commonwealth at the time, Mr. Braine answered that it was granted to His Britannic Majesty as the King, the constitutional head of the Union of South Africa, a sovereign independent country at the time. (*Hansard*, April 27.)

S.W.A. Election¹

The final count in the Legislative Assembly election shows that 59.8 per cent of the votes were in favour of the Nationalist Party. Out of the 38,874 enfranchised European voters, 32,769 went to the poll. Of these 19,360 voted for the Nationalist Party and 13,216 voted for the Opposition. Of the latter, 1,902 were cast in favour of Mr. Japie Basson's South West Party, but the strength of this Party cannot be judged by this figure as the South West Party had an election agreement with the United National South West Party and many of the latter's supporters voted for South West Party candidates in the two constituencies where their representatives stood. Similarly, in the remaining 16 constituencies, South West Party supporters voted for the U.N.S.W.P., which polled 11,314 votes. (*S.A. East London Dispatch*, April 11.)

Windhoek Trial

The Courts in Windhoek have set aside one whole week at the beginning of May to hear a case in which seventeen Non-Europeans will be charged with public violence on the night of December 10, 1959, when ten Non-Europeans lost their lives in the old Windhoek location after disturbances had broken out. It is expected that the Senior Additional Magistrate in Windhoek, Mr. W. de Vos, will hear the case. A special mass meeting was held in the location on March 5 under the auspices of the South West African National Union (S.W.A.N.U.) to start an appeal fund for those charged. A similar fund has also been formed by Chief Hosea Kutako and his legal advisers. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, March 21.)

Political Parties Grow

The South West Africa Peoples Organization (S.W.A.P.O.) is the largest African political organization in South West and its basic aim is to unite the people into a cohesive national political organization, irrespective of their race, or religion and to establish a free, democratic government. It was originally organized as the Ovamboland Peoples Congress by South West Africans residing in Cape Town in 1958. Its founder and first

¹DIGEST VIII, 5.

president was Toivo Ja-Toivo who in 1959 was deported to Ovamboland where he is still detained for his political activities and for sending petitions and a tape-recorded message to the U.N. The O.P.C. was dedicated then, as was its successor the Ovamboland Peoples Organization, to the termination of the South African Administration and the achievement of self-government under U.N. supervision and independence as soon as possible.

Later the centre of the Organization's activities shifted from Cape Town to Windhoek, and membership increased to many thousands organized throughout the country in over twelve national branches. In June 1960 S.W.A.P.O. was formed. Its governing body, the National Executive Committee, is composed of representatives of all segments of the African population and the rank and file. Veteran South West African leaders Chief Hosea Kutako and Chief Witbooi are among its supporters.

In its ideals the South West African National Union (S.W.A.N.U.) scarcely differs from S.W.A.P.O. but perhaps as yet lacks its large membership. Its president is Mr. Fanuel Kozonguizi (who has petitioned the U.N. on several occasions) and its vice-president, Mr. John G. Muundjua of Windhoek. Other officials are Messrs. Uatja Kaukueta, now studying in Sweden, and Mr. Hitjevi Gerson Veii, of Windhoek, national propaganda and organizing secretary. S.W.A.N.U. has issued statements on many matters of national importance and has held successful meetings. S.W.A.N.U. may be said to differ from S.W.A.P.O. in its questioning attitude to the leadership of Chief Hosea Kutako and his council. The Chief has long symbolized the fight against oppression in South West Africa. (*Contact*, March 23.)

WEST AFRICA Angola

Mounting Crisis

By March 25 disturbances had spread in northern Angola. The Portuguese agency *Lusitania* said that terrorists were entering Angola from the Congo. Punitive expeditions were made in the north where twenty-eight Europeans were reported to have been killed.

The European community demanded immediate action by the Portuguese Government and demonstrators outside the United States Protestant mission and the United States consulate protested against the American attitude in the United Nations Security Council where she supported an unsuccessful move for an inquiry into the situation. The American Embassy in Lisbon was also stoned.

Admiral Lopes Alves, Portuguese Minister for Overseas Territories, was sent to Luanda on March 26 with special powers. The Portuguese Government announced a loan of nearly £2 million to the National Development Bank for private investment in Angola and Mozambique. It also announced special powers for Portuguese armed forces serving overseas. In future immediate action in support of the police and in suppression of violence and subversion would be possible.

A cable to Lisbon signed on behalf of the commercial, industrial, and agricultural associations of Angola and the property owners' association of Luanda said: "In face of the desperate situation we beg that the Overseas Ministry be immediately transferred to Luanda, that Angola be placed under military control and that a governing council of men familiar with local problems and capable of solving them be set up." The signatories called for "urgent transfer of funds in arrears", and spoke of the pressing need for an additional grant of £25 million, as the economic crisis was responsible for the current social and political unrest. Credits for agriculture and development hardly existed, they said. (*Sunday Times*, March 26.)

On April 1 it was announced in Lisbon that some 200 Europeans, in addition to a large number of peaceful Angolans, died in the mid-March massacres.

In Northern Angola a considerable part of the 2,500 troops sent from metropolitan Portugal was still engaged in "systematic repressive action" against rebels. These troops, which include about 1,000 paratroopers, were supported by 7,500 Angolans.

The Times (April 3) reported distress in both Portugal and Angola at the arrest of the province's widely respected Vicar-General, Mgr. Manuel Mendes dos Neves, on subversive charges.

Reports of attacks on Europeans continued to come in and the Portuguese news agency said that trained jungle fighters supported by an armoured column were in action against "strong pockets of terrorists" and Portuguese Air Force planes were supporting the army. An airlift of troops and arms was in operation between Lisbon and Luanda in which commercial planes took part. It was reported that up to 10,000 troops would be sent to Angola.

Tom Stacey writing in the *Sunday Times* (April 16) said: "At least three different factions are known to be involved in the campaign to overthrow the Portuguese régime in Angola. A powerful element among the African attackers is composed of members of the former Force Publique of the ex-Belgian Congo who took to the bush after the original mutiny last July."

"Some of these well-armed and partly trained Africans have apparently joined with the Angolan-African political dissidents, among whom are a few White and Coloured Communists, who have been planning formation of a revolutionary army for several months. The headquarters of this latter group has been Leopoldville, since the Congo's independence. These groups aim at the expulsion of all Portuguese settlers from Angola, and the setting up of an all-Black Government."

"A third faction, led by Portuguese Whites but containing members of both races, is composed of Liberals who bitterly oppose Dr. Salazar and offer allegiance, at least at present, to General Delgado and Captain Galvao. Their objective has been to wrest Angola from the control of Lisbon, and set up a democratic Government of mixed races on a qualitative franchise."

At a conference of Angolan nationalists, meeting in Casablanca, Senhor Mario de Andrade said that the Angolan uprisings had forced the Salazar Government "to begin its death agony". Angolans would "intensify" armed action against the Portuguese, and co-ordinate nationalist aims so they could deal a death-blow to the moribund dictator Salazar. (*The Times*, April 20.)

Portugal began full-scale emergency measures to deal with the situation by April 29, sending 15,000 trained troops there in successive waves. In Luanda a night curfew was imposed on the African suburbs after a series of raids by revenge-seeking Europeans shooting Africans on sight and burning their huts. Rebel-occupied villages were being bombed and strafed by Portuguese aircraft and the survivors finished by paratroopers. The rebel organizations were identified as *The Union of Angolan Peoples* (U.P.A.), mostly Angolan exiles, with headquarters in Leopoldville, and led by Holden Roberto, an African from Angola; and *The Frente Revolucionaria para a Independencia Nacional das Colônias Portuguesas* (F.R.A.I.N.), a combination of four opposition groups based at Conakry. (*The Economist*, May 6.)

By May 6, it was reported that about 20,000 Africans had been killed and that the chances were slim that the U.P.A. could hold its northern Angolan territory.

In Tunis, M. Jose Gilmore (U.P.A.) told a Press conference that his Party envisaged the creation of an Angolan Provisional Government. He said an area 500 by 350 kilometres was already "cleared", and his Party had almost 60,000 members. (*West Africa*, May 6.)

Reports from Refugees

The *Observer* special correspondent writing from Leopoldville described how hundreds of Angolans were arriving at the resistance headquarters there bringing stories which, "but for confirmation of Portuguese vengeance by Western observers in Luanda one would accept with reservations. Twenty thousand Africans reported killed; thousands more in four concentration camps, Baia Dos Tigres, Damba, Porto, Alexandre and Silva Porto. Thirty thousand refugees cram villages along the Congo railway between Matadi and Thysville. . . ."

Summarizing the refugees' reports he said: "It began on March 15 at a coffee plantation called 'Primavera' near San Salvador do Congo. The

evening before (according to Nationalist sources, which due to the refusal of the Portuguese authorities to admit further correspondents are now the only ones) forced labourers approached their employer for pay. The employer insulted them and shot several dead. The remainder overwhelmed him. By morning the Europeans on neighbouring plantations were shooting at every African they saw.

"The Africans in retaliation, organized themselves into bands of 200 and 300 armed with sticks, stones and petrol. They attacked every European house in the district and killed any Portuguese they could find. From San Salvador the uprising spread across the whole of the Congo province, south into the neighbouring provinces of Malange and Luanda, and at the beginning of April to Nova Lisboa and other towns on the Elisabethville-Benguela railway. Military forces had to withdraw on a handful of forts like Maquela and Quibaxi, leaving 900 miles of the Congolese frontier and 40,000 square miles of the interior virtually undefended. The Nationalists estimate the number of Portuguese and Mulattos killed in the uprising at 1,000.

"In the first few days some sorties were made and stratagems used to terrorize the insurgents. At the village of Sanga on March 17, jeeps arrived with Angolan soldiers in mufti wearing the badge of the main Nationalist Party, the Union of Angolan Peoples (U.P.A.), who told the villagers that the struggle had been won. When a crowd had gathered the soldiers opened fire with machine-guns, and killed 18 of them.

"Two days later, at another village, Tumbi, a car with a loudhailer drove through and announced that 'the king' of the U.P.A. was arriving by aeroplane. A plane actually appeared. When the crowd had assembled troops converged on the village and killed 300.

"At Tomboco, the inhabitants were surrounded in the centre of the village. Mothers with children were allowed to stand to one side. The rest of the population . . . were then shot down.

"Later, with the arrival of the first troop and air reinforcements at Maquela and San Salvador, the Portuguese staged a come-back; families, including the few remaining women and children, organized themselves into armed militia. Mobile columns and increasing air strikes were used to obliterate village after village. . . .

"Whatever the brutalities may have been committed against the Portuguese colons, they can never justify the wholesale revenge."

The Rev. C. J. Parsons, general secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, who worked in Angola for many years, wrote in a letter to *The Times* (May 9): "All who have any affection for Portugal will have been profoundly moved by the terrible suffering inflicted on many worthy men, as well as women and children, during the first days of the Angolan rebellion. A recipient myself of much kindness from Portuguese friends through nearly twenty years' residence in Angola, I sympathize with all who have been bereaved, many of whom are known to me personally.

"Nevertheless there is a real danger of getting things in a wrong perspective. In Luanda, a month ago, a Portuguese doctor said to me: 'They began it. They had no mercy on our women and children. We must pay them back in their own coin.' This alas! has been all too readily accepted as a correct and judicious interpretation of events, and a justification for counter-measures which have gone far beyond all reason. The result has been the indiscriminate killing of thousands of Africans in a declared if unofficial policy of extermination.

"But there is a flaw in the argument, for racial hatred and cruelty were not begun by Africans. Endemic for centuries in most colonial territories, they were being slowly eradicated even in Angola, until three years ago, when P.I.D.E., the secret police, transferred their attention to this overseas province. Since that date the processes of justice have become even more obscure and mystifying to Africans, and the use of the rubber truncheon, bastinado and chicote more frequent.

"The Africans have learnt a humbling patience through centuries of subjection to alien rule. But hope has died and given way to despair. With the end of patience, those who have lived near to the Africans, however appalled by the ferocity of the assault, cannot be altogether surprised that they have avenged themselves in this terrifying way. Christian people will condemn violence and atrocity from any quarter. They must also condemn the injustice and cruelty that have provoked them."

Portuguese Reprisals

An article in *The Economist* (May 6) entitled "Agony of Angola" said: "Although Portuguese intelligence has been feeble, and little is known about the leaders in the field, the evidence available suggests that the campaign has been concerted and planned to some extent. . . . For the rebels escape is easy; this land of equatorial swamps, 7-foot elephant grass, and roads which the rains make impassable, provides a perfect theatre for guerrilla fighting. White and African refugees who managed to flee reached Luanda in a state of stupefaction and horror, and their eyewitness tales induced in the population a mood of hate and fear that bodes ill for the future of race relations in the territory. In the city itself poor Whites, who all carry arms, went out into the streets and shot innocent Africans out of sheer rage. Several dozen were murdered in this way. An eight o'clock curfew put an end to this activity, but not before much harm had been done."

"The reaction of the Portuguese Government has been as swift as the means allow. . . . In the absence of any official information, it has been estimated that some 15,000 Angolan and metropolitan troops and police are at present deployed in the territory. Their methods of reprisal are known to be severe to the point of barbarity, but an iron censorship and a complete refusal to allow any journalists (even from the captive local Press, whose editors are mere parrots in a locked official cage) to visit the northern province have successfully concealed from the world these draconian measures which are at present the whole of Dr. Salazar's Angolan policy. The military plan is quite simple. The air force goes in first, to bomb and destroy any village suspected of harbouring rebels. Then the army follows to 'pacify' what is left. In Luanda the word 'prisoner' is never mentioned, either in conversation or in any communiqué. Nor, apart from periodical obituary notices of known European dead, has any list of casualties been published. . . .

"To any inquiry about who precisely is responsible for the revolt the Portuguese authorities invariably reply that it is instigated from outside and undertaken by agitators and criminal elements who have sought refuge in the former Belgian Congo. It is true that many Angolan Africans live north of the Congo estuary, and many more habitually cross and re-cross the frontier with the tribesman's traditional disregard for the straight lines mysteriously drawn on a map by White men. But the extent of the revolt, and the fact that the invaders are frequently joined by sympathizers inside Angola, suggest that the Portuguese now have a national uprising on their hands. . . .

"The first reaction of a visitor to Angola today is one of surprise that the authorities should have been able to keep static for so long a situation so ripe for change. A few basic figures make sad reading. After 400 years of Portuguese rule there are still less than 250 miles of tarred roads. The average wage of the African is \$6 a month. At 98 per cent, the illiteracy rate is among the highest in the world (metropolitan Portugal, with a rate of 45 per cent, can make a corresponding claim in Europe). Outside the main towns and a few mission stations, health services hardly exist. The evil system of indentured labour is still enforced; the latest instance was early this year when Africans were brought to work on the cotton plantations at Malange. Their earnings were so low that they went on strike; they were promptly bombed by the Portuguese air force. Some regard this incident as the immediate cause of the present revolt.

"Out of a Black population of 4½ million, Angola has 30,000 assimilados who enjoy the basic rights denied to their fellows. They must pass certain tests which are strictly applied: they must be self-supporting, they must read and write Portuguese with facility, and they must have severed all contacts with their tribe. Some have prospered in Government service and the professions; others, to the chagrin of the Portuguese, have, as in Algeria, left the country to join liberation movements outside. Apart from the assimilados—the one jewel in a tarnished crown—the general picture of African life in Angola is one of medieval ignorance, squalor and repression. It should cause no surprise that Portugal has always refused any impartial United Nations inspection of its African territories. There is much to hide.

"The past year or two has seen a growing awareness among moderate Whites in Angola that the situation was too bad to last. Opposition to

Dr. Salazar peeped into the open now and then, faint cracks appeared in the monolith. A powerful section of the Catholic Church hierarchy in the territory is known to favour a policy of separatism. The outbreak of the rebellion, however, and the savagery employed by both sides, represent a setback for these liberalizing trends. The majority of the 163,000 Whites in Angola have rallied behind the Lisbon Government, and see no other solution than force; but the Portuguese Army is small and inexperienced in dealing with a revolt of the present dimensions; and the wild terrain favours the enemy. Behind closed doors in Luanda one hears often the words 'another Algeria' and murmured doubts about the outcome. Can Portugal go it alone?"

Cameroons

Unification

BEFORE dispersing on April 22, the United Nations General Assembly settled the future of the British Cameroons. It endorsed the results of the plebiscite held last February, and decided that the Northern Cameroons should join Nigeria on June 1, and the Southern Cameroons, the Republic of Cameroun on October 1. Although there were some stormy arguments in the Assembly's Trusteeship Committee about alleged improprieties in the plebiscite of the Northern Cameroons, the territory's union with Nigeria will probably be a comparatively simple affair. But the search for some sort of viable union between the Southern Cameroons and the French-speaking Cameroun Republic is far more difficult, and will be watched with lively interest by the other newly independent countries of West Africa.

In the first place, despite an extensive common frontier (which is more than Ghana and Guinea can claim) communications between the two territories are practically non-existent. . . .

In the second place, the Southern Cameroons is at present as dependent economically on the Commonwealth as Cameroun is on the French community. Officially, both connexions are to be broken after union, but in private nobody takes these official declarations seriously. The main export of the Southern Cameroons, bananas, receives a Commonwealth preference of 150s. a ton; it would be a crippling blow if this were to be cancelled before other marketing arrangements had been made. Both territories depend upon their European associations for the direct aid that is essential for their economic development. Probably, therefore, far from breaking these links, they will try to strengthen them in an effort to get the best of both worlds. This would mean a considerable degree of regional autonomy, which would suit Mr. Foncha, the Southern Cameroonian leader, who is not anxious to subject his country to an intensive course of gallicization. Some British officials, however, fear that this may be exactly what the leader of the Cameroun Republic, Mr. Ahidjo, intends; they argue that Mr. Foncha having failed to get an agreement on the division of power before the plebiscite when his bargaining power was greatest, now faces the prospect of having the terms of union dictated to him. Mr. Foncha, whose trust in his "Cameronian brothers" seems boundless, is deeply hurt by any such suggestion. Fortunately, however, Mr. Ahidjo is unlikely to want to close a political association, since most of the Southern Cameroonian are believed to support the opposition party in Cameroun.

Presumably, then, unification will be confined to a customs union and a common currency. But even on this Mr. Foncha is vague, and seems uneasily conscious of the drawbacks. The cost of living in Cameroun is two or three times as high as in the trust territory, and Mr. Foncha says he "will not allow prices to rise after unification". But unless he keeps his own customs and currency it is hard to see how this can be avoided. . . .

Language and cultural differences will make it almost impossible for English-speaking Cameroonians to receive their higher education in Yaounde.

It is not surprising that, confronted with so many formidable difficulties, Mr. Foncha takes refuge in hazy statements about national solidarity. He gives the impression that he has failed to do sufficient homework on the practical side of what is still mainly an emotional issue. Now, however, he can hardly escape the need for some realistic planning. (*The Economist*, April 29.)

At the U.N. there were protests against the resolutions adopted from Charles Okala, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Cameroun, who at earlier meetings had contested the results of the plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons. He interrupted the chairman and protested against the proceedings. He then walked out of the meeting, followed by the representatives of France and several other countries.

Mr. Okala, charged the United Kingdom with "falsifying" the results of the plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons. The Cameroons had been "arbitrarily" divided and their people were not consulted on the matter, he said. His Government had respect for the work of the U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner, he continued, and did not blame Nigeria for events because it had no administrative responsibilities for the territory.

Sir Andrew Cohen (United Kingdom) rejected what he called the "trumped up" charges made by the Foreign Minister. (*U.N. News*, May 2.)

Dahomey

One Party Government

PRESIDENT HUBERT MAGA has dissolved and banned the Democratic Union Party (U.D.D.) which was defeated in the elections held in December. His own Party (P.D.U.) has been affiliated to the Rassemblement Democratique Africaine (R.D.A.), the Party which holds power now in four of the Entente States. The P.D.U. recently joined with another Dahomanian party and as a result becomes the only political Party in Government.

At a party conference, an economic plan which recognized the realities was called for, which would give priority to agricultural improvements. The conference agreed that the struggle against unemployment and under-employment should be intensified, and the establishment of a Civil Service was recommended as well as radical reforms in Dahomey's trade union system—its ideals as much as its methods. (*Bulletin de L'Afrique noire*, April 18, and *West Africa*, April 22.)

M. Paul Darboux, Minister of Commerce, Development and Tourism, has announced the main points of his Government's commercial policy; that of africanization and expanded trade. He emphasized the need for small and medium-sized enterprises to combine together, and said the Government would help them to obtain credit required to expand their activities. The Government was relying on the goodwill of those affected who must change their outlook from that of small traders to that of enterprising and reliable businessmen.

Africanization in commerce was in the national interest. The Government would struggle unceasingly against smuggling and illicit trading. M. Darboux then announced the setting up in his department of sections to counteract fraudulent practice, to control prices and to check weights and measures. (*Afrique Nouvelle*, April 26.)

Gambia

Future Relations With Senegal

THE *Gambia Echo* (February 2) reporting the visit to London of M. Mamadou Dia, Premier of Senegal, said he had not gone there to discuss any union or understanding between Gambia and Senegal. However it was known that the Premier thought it certain that the Gambia would be unable to remain isolated from Senegal just as Senegal could not remain isolated from the rest of West Africa.

Circumstances had been altered by the break-up of the Mali Federation and now Senegal was looking south, but M. Dia had said that he was ready to wait until Gambia was independent. It is pleasing to know that M. Dia recognizes the competitive nature of African economy—particularly as regards Senegal and the Gambia—and stresses the need for co-operation rather than hinting that integration with Senegal is the only salvation for our poor and small country of the Gambia when we attain independence. We ourselves are working towards attaining independence but would like

to be reasonably prepared before embarking on it. We do wish we could attain to it at once (he says he hopes it will be soon) but the prospects are that we need a few years more grounding. Better so; because independence means shaping our destiny ourselves—particularly for posterity. We are in accord with Senegal's desire for an early understanding between the two territories. But to make haste is not always good though it is not always bad. Now that we have a resident Consul-General from Senegal and our Cabinet is composed mainly of Gambians, we can begin to clear the ground for a wide field of co-operation in the future.

Constitutional Progress

MR. PIERRE S. N'JIE, leader of Gambia's United Party, who has led the Opposition in the House of Representatives in Bathurst since Exco was re-formed last year, has been appointed Chief Minister. Mr. David Jawara, leader of the People's Progressive Party, has resigned from his post as Minister of Education and Welfare.

These changes followed discussions between the Governor, Sir Edward Windley, and leaders of all parties and chiefs' representatives about the appointment of a minister responsible for co-ordinating all ministerial business. An official announcement said that the Governor was told that neither Mr. P. S. N'Jie nor Mr. Jawara would find it possible to accept office under the other. "As negotiations progressed," the statement went on, "Sir Edward was obliged to determine as accurately as possible which of the two political leaders commanded the greater degree of support in the House, and after sounding the views of the members elected by the chiefs and those elected members who were not committed to either of the major parties, he has come to the firm conclusion that Mr. P. S. N'Jie commands the greater measure of support."

On being told that Mr. N'Jie was to be offered the post of Chief Minister, the P.P.P. leader handed in his resignation and shortly afterwards Mr. Sheriff Sisay, a P.P.P. leader, said he believed that Gambians cannot attain independence unless sound political parties are allowed to develop in which the mass of the people freely and actively participate. The Governor said he regretted that it had not been possible to appoint a Chief Minister "consistent with your remaining in office", but he believed that "such an appointment is a useful and necessary step in our constitutional progress and that it would have been wrong to delay that step because of the impossibility of reconciling the two main political groups or their leaders".

Following these changes, Sir Edward has appointed Mr. E. D. N'Jie, Pierre's brother, as Minister of Education and Welfare, Mr. M. Baldeh as Minister of Agriculture and National Resources and Mr. A. Camara as Minister of Labour and Health.

The Government invited representatives from all main political parties and the chiefs to attend an official conference in May to discuss the possibility of further constitutional advance. Representatives of the Civil Service and teachers will also attend. It is expected that decisions will be made about introducing ministerial self-government and that a date for the next general election will be fixed. The new Chief Minister, Mr. P. S. N'Jie, attended the Senegal independence celebrations and as well as meeting senior Senegal Ministers invited M. Mamadou Dia, Senegal Premier, to visit Bathurst in the near future. (*West Africa*, March 25 and April 15.)

Ghana

The President Speaks at Dawn

PRESIDENT NKRUMAH began what Ghana newspapers have called his "cleaning up" campaign with a broadcast in the early hours of April 8. He said: "In accordance with the cherished customs of our fathers, whereby advice is sought or given at early dawn, I have come to the microphone this morning to share some thoughts with you in a homely chat."

Republic Day, he said, marked Ghana's real beginning as a nation and brought responsibilities not only for the development and reconstruction of Ghana, but also for the faithful duty of assisting other African territories to achieve their freedom and independence. Referring to tensions in the

country he said: "I have been rather unhappy about reports which I have received since my return from the United Kingdom. . . . While I was away certain matters arose concerning the Trades Union Congress, the National Assembly, the Co-operative Movement and the United Ghana Farmers' Council. These matters created misunderstandings and led to some regrettable demonstrations."

President Nkrumah said petty misunderstandings and squabbles must not divert Ghana from its great and worthy aims and objectives. "The officials of these organizations objected to the criticism and made counter-criticisms against certain parliamentarians and this started a vicious circle of calumnies and recriminations. This is clearly unfortunate. I have taken certain steps, and I hope that no occasion will arise to cause a recurrence of a similar situation.

"The Convention People's Party is a great brotherhood. I have stated over and over again, that members of the Convention People's Party must not use their party membership or official position for personal gain or for the amassing of wealth." The C.P.P.'s aims included the building of a socialist pattern of society in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. The country's economy was divided into five sectors:

"First, the state sector, in which all enterprises are entirely state-owned. Second, the joint state-private sector, which will incorporate enterprises owned jointly by Government and foreign private capital. Third, the co-operative sector, in which all enterprises will be undertaken by co-operative organizations affiliated with the National Co-operative Council. Fourth, the private enterprise sector, which will incorporate those industries which are open freely to foreign private enterprise, and fifth, the workers enterprise sector.

"I have had occasions to emphasize the part which private enterprise will continue to play in our economic and industrial life. A different situation arises with Ghanaian businessmen who attempt to combine business with political life. . . . Any party Member of Parliament who wishes to be a businessman can do so, but he should give up his seat in Parliament. In other words, no Minister, Ministerial Secretary or party Member of Parliament should own a business or be involved in business, Ghanaian or foreign. . . . Members of Parliament must remember at all times that they are representatives of their constituencies only by reason of their party membership and that on no account should they regard constituency representation as belonging to them in their own right."

Of trade unions the President said: "This is not the time for unbridled militant trade unionism in our country. Trade union officials must shed their colonial character and their colonial thinking. The approach of the Trades Union Congress to our national issues should be seasoned and constructive in accordance with our present circumstances."

The President condemned rumour-mongering and said accusations of accepting bribes should be brought before the C.P.P. Central Committee. He described as degrading to the Party the practice some members followed of using the Party's name and those of its leaders to collect money. "This is a shameful and highly criminal tendency which must be crushed in the most ruthless manner.

"Statements which may be regarded as Government policy statements are those which I make myself personally and those which are clearly stated in the text to be the official policy of the Government. In recent months people in Ghana and abroad have frequently been confused and Government's policies made uncertain as a result of unauthorized statements which have been made by persons employed by the Government, or quasi-Government bodies. Often these statements have conflicted with the Government's policies, and although they have been corrected subsequently by the Government, much harm has been done and confusion and suspicion have resulted. . . .

"I am aware that the evil of patronage finds a good deal of place in our society, I consider that it is entirely wrong for persons placed in positions of eminence or authority to use the influence of office in patronizing others, in many cases wrong persons for immoral favours."

Commenting on inefficiency and "archaic snail-pace methods" in the Civil Service, the President said he had decided to reorganize the Ministries and to create a Ministry of African Affairs, as distinct from the present Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This new Ministry will be responsible for all

African matters, including the present duties undertaken by the Bureau of African Affairs and the African Affairs Centre. It will also liaise with the All-African People's Secretariat and the All-African Trades Union Federation.

The Ministry of Labour and Co-operatives and the Ministry of Social Welfare will be abolished. Ministerial responsibility for labour, social welfare and community development matters will be undertaken by the Ministry of Education which will therefore be known as the Ministry of Education, Labour and Social Welfare. The staff of the Co-operative Department will be seconded to the National Co-operative Council to assist the council in the supervision and co-ordination of co-operative activities throughout the country. Responsibility for consumer co-operatives, agricultural and industrial co-operatives will be undertaken by the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Development Secretariat respectively.

The President announced a change in Government policy regarding cocoa purchasing. "The reports I have received so far indicate that the statement made in Parliament some time ago by the Minister of Labour and Co-operatives, that a State Buying Agency would be established by the Government and that this Agency would control the purchase of cocoa, throughout the country, has not been favourably received by the farmers. After careful consideration, I have come to the conclusion that this proposal, which is perhaps not the best way in which we can handle this important matter of the purchase of cocoa. . . .

"I have therefore instructed that the United Ghana Farmers' Council, which embraces all the farmers of Ghana, should be given the sole responsibility for organizing the purchase of all cocoa produced in Ghana on behalf of the Cocoa Marketing Board. . . . A satisfactory safeguard in respect of this matter has been provided in an arrangement which I have directed for the auditing of the accounts of the United Ghana Farmers' Council by the Auditor-General. By this arrangement the accounts of the United Ghana Farmers' Council, all public corporations, the Trades Union Congress and all other bodies concerned, shall be audited by the Auditor-General who shall have the same powers in relation to them as are conferred upon him by the Constitution in relation to Government accounts."

Returning to the behaviour of Ministers and Government servants, the President said: "I have recently been alarmed at the amount of travelling abroad which is undertaken by Ministers, Ambassadors, Ministerial Secretaries and Civil Servants of all ranks. In future travelling abroad, unless approved by the Cabinet will not be paid for by Government. . . . I have also directed that instructions should be given to the heads of all public boards and corporations, to ensure that no officers of these boards and corporations travel outside Ghana at Government expense without my specific approval or that of the Cabinet.

"Ghanaian Ambassadors take their children with them when they proceed to their stations at the expense of the Government. I am taking steps to discourage this practice, for it seems to me that on psychological and other grounds, it is better for these young children to begin their education at home. At any rate this practice cannot be justified on financial grounds."

After warning that party leaders must not lose touch with the masses from which they themselves came, the President said: "Coming to the integral organizations of the Party, I consider it essential to emphasize once more that the Trades Union Congress, the United Ghana Farmers' Council, the National Co-operative Council and the National Council of Ghana Women, are integral parts of the Convention People's Party and in order to correct certain existing anomalies, the Central Committee has decided that separate membership cards of the integral organizations shall be abolished forthwith.

"The membership card of the Party will be the only qualification for membership within these organizations."

A limit would be imposed on property acquisition by Ministers, Party officials, and Ministerial Secretaries in order to enable them to conform to the modest and simple way of life demanded by the ideals and principles of the Convention People's Party. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, April 10.)

Dr. Nkrumah subsequently addressed letters to all Convention People's Party Members of Parliament personally and asked them to declare and to

submit to him details of any business or commercial activities which they own or in which they are involved, however indirectly, whether such business is Ghanaian or foreign-owned. The President wrote in similar terms to the secretaries of the Convention People's Party, the Trades Union Congress, the United Ghana Farmers' Council, the National Co-operative Council, the Executive Director of the Development Secretariat and the Speaker of the National Assembly. The President asked for details of all cars, houses and plots of land owned by them.

It was later announced that the President has appointed a three-man Commission headed by Sir Charles Tachie-Menson, Civil Service Commission chairman, to analyse replies received to these requests for information.

The President's office stated that all concerned had now furnished the details required. (*Ghana Today*, May 10.)

Cabinet and Party Changes

After a Cabinet reshuffle ministerial posts were allotted as follows: Finance—Mr. F. K. D. Goka; Agriculture—Mr. Kojo Botsio; Local Government—Mr. A. E. A. Ofori-Atta; Foreign Affairs—Mr. Ako Adjei; Health—Mr. K. Gbedemah; Transport and Communications—Mr. Krobo Edusel; Works and Housing—Mr. E. K. Bensah; Trade—Mr. L. R. Abavana; Education and Social Welfare—Mr. A. J. Dowuona-Hammond; Information—Mr. Kwaku Boateng; Interior—Mr. A. E. Inkumsah; Parliamentary Affairs and Leader of the House—Mr. Kofi Baako; Defence—Mr. C. De Graft Dickson; Presidential Affairs—Mr. Tawia Adamafio.

The President has assumed direct control of the African Affairs Secretariat, assisted by Mr. Imoru Egala as Minister of State.

Mr. R. O. Amoako-Atta will take charge of the scheme under which Members of Parliament who are not Ministers or Ministerial Secretaries will assist in carrying out industrial, social and other projects throughout the country. (*Ghana Today*, May 10.)

President Nkrumah took over direct power over the C.P.P. on May 1. He becomes general secretary of the Party and chairman of its central committee. (*West Africa*, May 13.)

The Times (May 3) commented: "Ghana's ministerial reshuffle leaves most of the same people in the same posts. The really important change is the assumption by the President of direct control of the ruling Convention People's Party. . . . He is moving logically along the path of single-party government towards the personal rule that can be found in many of the newly independent African countries—notably in Guinea and Mali, with which Ghana has a special relationship. President Nkrumah gives two reasons for his assumption of executive control. First, the country is entering 'a new political revolution regarding the struggle for the total liberation of the African continent', and secondly, at home Ghana has entered a 'new phase of the industrial and technical revolution'. In short, the country must be mobilized, its resources directed most efficiently, towards industrial development at home and, beyond its frontiers, towards the achievement of Pan-Africanism, the dream which is essentially the President's own. That he finds firmer personal control necessary for the achievement of these ends is the sign of a fear that without it things may go wrong—an occupational disease of authoritarian leaders. It also suggests that among his own followers there are men who do not share fully the President's active enthusiasm for the wider concept of a united Africa and might even be tempted to forget Pan-Africanism altogether."

"Dr. Nkrumah is consolidating his immense prestige, seizing the reins to drive his followers at the fences he wants them to jump. News of such a concentration of power in one man's hands inevitably makes uneasy reading. In spite of the obvious similarities to the Soviet system of party government, however, it would be wrong to assume that this marks another slide towards Communism. The whole point of Pan-Africanism is not to form an alliance with either of the big power blocks. Whether it can keep Communism at bay without democratic safeguards is another matter."

Company Law Report

The Report of Professor L. C. B. Gower's *Commission of Enquiry into the Working and Administration of the present Company Law in Ghana* has been published. It recommends the enactment of a Code of Company

¹Government Printer, Accra, £2.

Law suitable for the needs of larger concerns, including those in which foreign capital is invested, and an Incorporated Partnerships Act, designed primarily to meet the needs of small African businesses. Draft Bills with comments on each clause are appended to the report.

One feature of the Companies Code which distinguishes it from other Commonwealth Companies Acts is that it attempts to codify company law instead of merely consolidating the statute law superimposed on a vast body of case law, mainly English. This is intended to enable Ghana to start with a clean slate and, the Report says, provide a model for more general adoption in Afro-Asia. While the basic principles remain those of English law, an attempt has been made to produce a streamlined system "in which both Africans and expatriate concerns could have confidence". The Code goes considerably farther than the present United Kingdom Act in its safeguards of the interests of creditors and investors.

It is suggested that taxation rules which make it difficult for foreign concerns to incorporate in Ghana or to float off their shares in Ghana should be reviewed, and that consideration should be given to the abolition of stamp duties on commercial transactions. On the other hand, the Report rejects as unnecessary, undesirable, impracticable, and contrary to stated Government policy, any rule that there should be a stated proportion of Ghanaian shareholders or directors in private enterprises operating in Ghana. (*West Africa*, April 9.)

The Times (May 1) commented: "The great merit of Professor Gower's proposals for company law in Ghana is that they are designed to meet local conditions. . . .

"In suggesting a code, based on the fundamental principles of English law, he has accepted two realities. In the first place Ghana has been reared in the English legal tradition and, as the report states: 'To attempt now to uproot the past completely and start from some new source would cause endless difficulty to all concerned and would handicap, instead of helping, the speedy development of the Ghanaian economy.' On the other hand, by proposing a code he has opened the way to economic co-operation with former French territories in Africa whose lawyers, in the French tradition, are accustomed to codified laws. This has particular importance in view of Ghana's links with Guinea and Mali. . . .

"The Ghana Government has not yet given its views on these proposals—preferring, reasonably enough, to give experts and interested parties time to ponder them. The Government will be well advised to use them as the basis for its commercial legislation (a part of the wholesale revision of laws in progress in Ghana). The proposals give African businesses a chance to develop and flourish and, even more important, if enacted would provide tangible reassurance to potential investors hesitant to put their money to work in a country where the left-wing complexion of politics is bound to make private enterprise tread warily."

Guinea

Nationalized Trading Ends

THE news that Guinea has decided to close down its nationalized trading organizations—the famous *Comptoirs de commerce guinéens*—should not be passed over lightly. It may well prove a landmark in the economic and ideological development of Africa.

The Guineans have clearly learned a lesson. The lesson for the rest of us is that a central objection to the Communist concept of trade—the objection that it puts absolute economic power in the hands of a bureaucracy which could be more advantageously wielded by private individuals—applies above all in those African states where the bureaucracy lacks even the degrees of efficiency and tradition of service it has in Russia. . . . (*West Africa*, March 25.)

Mali

Relations with France

ANNIE BOIS writing in *Combat* (May 6 and 7) said that relations established between France and Mali now promised to make up for a certain

coolness during the first meetings between M. Malraux and M. Modibo Keita. There was no longer any talk of breakdown, but only of arrangements and adjustments. In other words as there is talk of socialism, and non-commitment the form of exchange between the two governments is changing.

"Bamako wishes to replace traditional French customs by the ways of Mali; the French Government does not argue about this. It accepts that one partner has changed and methods of co-operation must be adapted. But is Mali's neutralism compatible with certain kinds of aid. There are the examples of Guinea, the Community and the Entente states to follow.

"In Paris it is said that trade agreements will be concluded with Mali and technical aid will follow. For the rest it remains to be seen."

Le Monde (May 6) said that the mission which M. Andre Malraux undertook in Bamako on behalf of General De Gaulle seems to have provided an opportunity for useful exchanges between the French and Mali Governments. Mali's welcome was friendly. General De Gaulle's message posed the question clearly: should France look forward to relations with Mali or were they to be interrupted? The President of Mali replied that he was aware of the help given to his country by France in the past and he did not want any breakdown in the future. But M. Modibo Keita laid emphasis on the urgent need for a new definition of Franco-Mali relations which took account of the socialist and neutralist attitudes now adopted by the new State, and of the role it had decided to play in West Africa. It appears that there are possibilities of improved relations and of free co-operation between the two countries, and it appears Mali leaders do not want their relations with Paris to be similar to those between Paris and Conakry.

Niger

In Search of an Africa Society

M. BOUBOU HAMA, President of the National Assembly, has said that his Government is opposed to a capitalist system which results in a few ruling families controlling the wealth and through it the people. He said Niger did not accept a social system which divorced government from the people. The materialist ideas of the East were unacceptable, so were the rationalist attitudes of the West which seemed to him to restrict man's spirit by material consideration. Niger would not accept the domination of its economy by either ideology. Between the rigid yoke of capitalism and the atheistic soviet system, Niger wanted to find an African path. He emphasized that Africa must remain true to herself in order to make her contribution to society. He asked African leaders always to remember the importance of preserving African unity throughout their continent. (*Afrique Nouvelle*, March 1.)

Nigeria

Elections in the North

In the new Northern House of Assembly the Northern People's Congress will have at least 156 seats, the alliance of the Northern Elements Progressive Union and the N.C.N.C. has only one, and the alliance of the Action Group and the United Middle Belt Congress has 9 seats.

Nominally 14 parties contested the elections, but apart from N.P.C., N.E.P.U.-N.C.N.C., U.M.B.C.-A.G., they were all local tribal parties, mostly allied to N.P.C. The Igbirra Tribal Union, for example, won 2 seats in Kebbi Province against the N.P.C., but both members have since declared for the N.P.C.

In *West Africa* (May 13) a correspondent wrote: "This is an overwhelming victory. In the old House, with fewer members (132 against the present 170), the N.P.C. had 110 members, the A.G.-U.M.B.C. alliance 13, and the N.E.P.U.-N.C.N.C. alliance 4, which gave the opposition parties a considerably higher proportion of seats than they now have. It is true that the time allowed for campaigning was short and that, in addition to the obvious handicaps for an opposition in Northern Nigeria, some

A.G. and N.E.P.U. leaders were either in gaol or preoccupied with the House of Representatives meetings in Lagos. But there is still no evidence—in spite of what might be called the 'objective conditions', that a social revolution is in the offing. A victory of this size cannot be explained away—nor would proportional representation have helped, as in most cases the defeated opposition candidates polled very few votes. And this was a very peaceful election."

New Region

The Federal Parliament in Lagos has unanimously adopted a Government sponsored motion calling for the creation of a fourth region in the Federation of Nigeria. The proposed new state, to be known as the Mid-West State, is to be carved from the Western Region, now being governed by the Action Group which is the Opposition in the Federal Parliament.

The Opposition had earlier moved unsuccessfully (250 votes to 51) for the creation of three new states, out of the existing regions. The opposition leader, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, said the creation of more states was necessary so that none should be large or powerful enough to override the wishes of others or to dictate to the Federal Government.

Chief Awolowo said the size of Northern Nigeria (two-thirds the size of the Federation with about 50 per cent of the total population) was a "threat" to Nigeria and also a potential danger. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, April 6.)

Mr. Sandys' Visit

Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, has said that the defence pact¹ signed between Nigeria and Britain did not give any right for Britain to establish bases in Nigeria. Mr. Sandys, speaking at a Press conference in Lagos, on April 13, added that the agreement was an understanding between two countries which they thought would be of great advantage to both. In this case most of the advantages were on the side of the Federation.

He denied that the agreement bound the two countries to give mutual assistance in the event of one or the other being involved in any war, but he said that if Nigeria became involved Britain would feel a moral obligation to render assistance if she were asked to do so. Mr. Sandys said that Nigeria is now firmly established as an independent sovereign state. Britain is proud to have played her part in bringing this process to such a successful conclusion.

The recent mission of industrialists from Britain has made a most encouraging report about prospects in Nigeria. As a result they have decided to establish some twenty new industrial projects in Nigeria. Work on some of these has already started. There is no doubt that British investors have confidence in the future of Nigeria. That confidence is one of your most important financial assets. Industrialists and investors in Britain and elsewhere want to feel sure of two things—first that Nigeria will remain politically stable; and, secondly, that foreign enterprises which come to Nigeria will be given a fair deal. So long as you can maintain that confidence, you can, I believe, look forward to an increasing flow of capital investment from outside. (*News from Nigeria*, April 15.)

Ashby Report Adopted¹

A White Paper on Educational Development for the period 1961-70 was laid before Parliament by the Federal Minister of Education, Hon. Aja Nwachukwu, M.P., on April 18. This follows the report of the Ashby Commission on Post-Secondary and Higher Education presented in September 1960 and expresses the Federal Government's acceptance in principle of that report and acceptance of the Ashby recommendations (with some amendment) as the basis for the development of Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria for the next ten years.

In announcing this conclusion, the Federal Government proclaims its determination to pursue a vigorous policy of man-power development that will at once rectify the existing imbalance in educational development, and promote the economic development of the nation. It is also the Federal Government's view that the implementation of the Ashby Commission's recommendations as amended must be given the highest priority. (*News from Nigeria*, April 22.)

¹DIGEST VIII, 4.

Economic Prospects¹

Average income per head, recently estimated to have been rising since 1950 at between 1 and 2 per cent a year at constant prices, is still low by any common-sense yardstick. Latest figures put it somewhere around £30 or, very roughly, less than one-tenth of what every man, woman and child averages in the United Kingdom. The total national product, now exceeding £1,000 million, exceeds the combined products of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, and indicates that Nigeria is, after the Union of South Africa, probably the largest economy in the whole African continent . . .

On the expenditure side of the national account, Nigeria appears to have stepped up the rate of investment in fixed assets from 6 or 7 per cent in 1950-1 to approximately 12 per cent of annual product at the present time. While it must be emphasized that buildings, roads and mechanical equipment depreciate at a higher rate in tropical countries than elsewhere, Nigeria's gross capital formation during the 1950s compares very favourably with that of other less-developed agricultural countries. Simultaneously, current expenditures by the four governments of the Federation on goods and services have doubled in real terms; the estimate that Nigerians are privately consuming about 85 per cent of annual output is explained by a trade deficit of £20-£30 million in each of the last four years and a mounting inflow of funds on capital account. Government programmes of capital expenditures, costing over £60 million last year, after being held up in the early 'fifties by shortages of materials and difficulties in recruiting staff, are now beginning to find that lack of funds is the chief constraint. While the terms of trade remained relatively favourable to Nigeria, that is until 1955, buoyant revenues based largely on export taxes and import duties enabled the country not merely to finance the greater part of its public capital programme but also to lend abroad. Now that the commodity markets have hardened again, and some of Nigeria's competitors may obtain discriminatory benefits under the provisions of the Rome Treaty, attention focuses naturally on Nigeria's capacity to readjust the pattern of agricultural output in response to a changing pattern of demand, internally as well as overseas . . .

Agriculture, including the management of livestock and forest, occupies the great majority of adults among Nigeria's 35 or 36 million people. It contributes over three-fifths of the national product, and four-fifths at least of Nigeria's annual exports which last year totalled about £170 million. However rapidly new industrial factories spring up—and industrialization has been accelerating—the Federation will for many years continue to depend largely on a mixture of food crops and export crops for its livelihood and for its revenue . . .

While gross national product is estimated to have risen about 35 per cent at constant prices, and the volume of agricultural exports has gone up by nearly 40 per cent, the output of food crops for home consumption seems only to have risen by about 20 per cent. This would not be so troublesome if the average diet contained adequate nourishment and the marginal substitution of export crops for "home-made" food yielded a net gain through the terms of international trade. Imports of food have, in fact, been rising but at £20 million only in 1959 their net contribution to the average diet remains very small indeed. To judge by the recent imposition of protective duties on sugar and wheaten flour, Nigeria intends to remain, rightly or wrongly, self-supporting in foodstuffs. If this is indeed the case, then it is imperative that the Federal and the Regional ministries concerned hammer out an agricultural policy which establishes priorities between competing claims to scarce research funds and personnel . . .

Throughout the Federation, the whole vexed question of land tenure—individual titles to possession are very much the exception rather than the rule—lies at the heart of the uneasy compromise between the social and political benefits of a "landed peasantry" and the economic stimulus of alienation for "enclosure" into plantations and other profitable forms of large holdings. So long as Nigeria remained within the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office, considerations of equity tended to override the appeal to more efficient forms of husbandry, particularly where "expatriate", i.e. non-Nigerian, interests were involved. Now that Nigeria is not only inde-

pendent but firmly committed to measures that will increase agricultural production, the pace of agrarian reform, which has already quickened in the Western Region, is likely to gather momentum throughout the country . . .

Since 1955, the outside world has been less eager to buy Nigeria's produce, world commodity prices have weakened, and the surplus on trading account has turned into an annual deficit averaging £25 million. In these changed circumstances the policies of the Marketing Boards—now organized on a regional rather than a commodity basis—have remained conservative rather than compensatory. With small, and one is tempted to say almost accidental, exceptions, prices to the producers of cocoa, oilseeds and cotton, which were held below rising world prices in the boom years, were lowered as world prices fell. In fairness to the Marketing Boards, however, it can certainly be argued that, if the ends ever justify the means adopted, the restraints their "stabilization" policies have imposed on producers have had one result that is now proving of benefit to Nigeria. Without the large investment, call it "forced savings" by cocoa, oilseeds and cotton producers, in overseas balances during most of the post-war period, the Federal and Regional Governments would be in a much less strong financial position than they are today.

More recently, the Boards have been lending considerable sums in effect by transferring sterling balances, to help the Government finance the expanding programme of capital spending. The Western Regional Marketing Board has lent £10 million to the Regional Government as well as nearly £5 million to the Federal Government, amounts equal to the much-publicized loan last year to the Federation by the United Kingdom, and substantially more than Nigeria's outstanding debt to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Although these developments have meant that sterling balances have been drawn down during the past four or five years, it is thought that at present the country still has at its disposal sufficient in the way of liquid reserves to cover six or seven months' supply of imports at current rates and prices. This, combined with the fact that Nigeria's external debt is put at approximately £25 million only, shows up Nigeria's financial position in quite a favourable light compared with that of any other primary producing nation equally dependent on overseas markets . . .

Under the terms of the Rome Treaty, restrictive measures and discriminatory tariffs can be imposed on commodities like groundnuts, cocoa, cotton and rubber whose origin lies outside the Associated Overseas Territories of the six Common Market countries. So far, this threat to Nigeria's European Market remains potential rather than actual, but the possibilities of what might be called "imperial preference in reverse" when commodity markets are being over-supplied have been causing anxiety in Nigerian official circles . . .

Private capital investment from overseas has been mounting slowly but steadily during the 1950s and now provides something of the order of £25 million a year as an offset to the current deficit and, more important, as an earnest of foreign confidence in Nigeria's political stability and financial prudence . . .

As far as monetary policy is concerned, there is little immediate prospect that the Central Bank, established shortly before independence, can or will attempt to employ the sort of regulatory mechanism which more developed countries have built up over long periods of trial and error. The "monetary sector" of the Nigerian economy is dominated by a very small number of large commercial concerns with a strong international flavour. Until such time as the contact between the existing monetary institutions and developing indigenous enterprise becomes closer and more firmly grounded in mutual confidence, there will remain an incomplete structural framework through which to transmit signals about credit policy.

The structural framework is being built, however. During the past eighteen months, a Stock Exchange has been founded in Lagos and Nigeria's first merchant banking venture instituted with the aid of a leading house in the City. The relationship between the new Central Bank and the Federal Treasury is indicated by the first issue in Nigeria, almost a year ago, of £4 million in local Treasury bills. At the same time the Federal Finance Minister, Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, announced that the Central Bank would not permit the fiduciary element in the country's new currency—the West African Currency Board is no longer the "bank of issue" for

¹Extracts from "Nigeria's Economic Prospects", Ian G. Stewart, *The Three Banks Review*, March 1961.

Nigeria—to rise above 20 per cent for several years to come. If this self-denying ordinance can be taken at its face value, then clearly Nigeria intends to have a stable currency fully convertible into sterling, and to accept the limitations on the rate of public spending and economic development that this form of self-restraint will require. . . .

Since the latest fiscal review in 1957-8, conducted by Sir Jeremy Raisman and Professor R. C. Tress, the regional governments receive back from the Federal authorities the proceeds of export duties on produce according to the region of origin. . . .

To help stabilize their revenues, the regions now obtain certain fixed proportions from a "distributable pool" of Federally collected monies. This pool comprises 30 per cent of mining royalties and rents together with 30 per cent of general import revenues not otherwise allocated. At present the regional division is such that the North gets 40 per cent, the West 24 per cent, the East 31 per cent and, subject to future political changes, the Southern Cameroons 5 per cent. . . .

Partly to mitigate the hazards of uncertainty and instability, partly from more theoretical considerations of equity, first the Eastern and then the Western Region have been seeking to replace, since 1956, their older flat-rate poll-taxes by a graduated income tax. To date, progress in this most difficult fiscal operation has inevitably been slow, and the "transfer cost" of administration relatively heavy, but it is not easy to see in what other major direction regional tax policies could develop, given the constitutional framework of the Federation. . . .

The risks of uneconomic inter-regional rivalry in securing industrial developments have been reduced to some extent by the institution of a National Economic Council, whose main function is to "ensure maximum co-operation in economic matters" between Federal and Regional public bodies.

It would seem that Nigeria is attracting overseas capital and enterprise, particularly from Western Europe and the United States, but not yet on a grand enough scale to provide sufficient employment to the new generation of school-leavers who too often regard a general certificate of education as a one-way ticket from the farm to the factory, or better still to an office job. While the Federal and Regional Governments can make the fiscal climate attractive, location of new industries in even the most salubrious districts of Nigeria will remain costly and gradual as long as the technical and managerial skills have to be attracted from more temperate parts of the world.

To sum up, one might say that Nigeria's rate of expansion in the next few years will turn very largely on events in the United Kingdom, the European Community, the United States, and more remotely the Soviet bloc. International schemes for stabilizing commodity prices are no satisfactory substitute for an expanding market in the Western, or if it comes to that, the Eastern countries of Europe and Asia, and of these countries those with a relatively healthy balance of payments may be expected to give a lead in this direction. Failing an improvement in the terms of trade for Nigeria, the rate of investment by Government and in the private sector can only outrun the rate of international lending (or outright aid) by modest amounts each year, otherwise the safety margin of convertible assets that helps to inspire trust in a new régime will be extinguished. Given liberal trading policies abroad and political stability at home, there is no reason to think that Nigeria will not emerge from the 1960s with a stronger and better-balanced economy, but the proviso is essential.

Sierra Leone

Independence

SIERRA LEONE became an independent state and member of the British Commonwealth on April 27.

Preparations for independence had been clouded to some extent by the declaration of a state of emergency and the detention of twenty leaders of the All-People's Congress (Opposition) Party, in connexion with alleged sabotage plans. The detentions follow two months of sporadic disturbances in Sierra Leone.

The Minister of Information, Mr. Y. D. Sisay, broadcasting to the

nation, said the All-People's Congress (A.P.C.) was "inciting workers and their leaders to call a general strike". He said A.P.C. leaders were "misleading the public" by continuing to say that general elections must be held even as late as the day before independence—"or there will be trouble". He added that A.P.C. members had assaulted members of the Government and had threatened further assaults.

Mr. Sisay said the A.P.C. had attempted to obtain explosives for sabotage, and had planned to sabotage the lighting at places where the independence celebrations were to be held. Among those detained was the party leader, Mr. Siaka Probyn Stevens. (*The Times*, April 19.)

The Queen was represented at the celebrations by the Duke of Kent, and Mr. Duncan Sandys led the United Kingdom delegation.

A gift from the United States was two fully equipped air-conditioned mobile medical units. They were presented by Mr. Thurgood Marshall, President Kennedy's personal representative at these celebrations.

Nigeria was represented by the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. President Tubman represented Liberia, and Chief Justice Sir Arku Korsha attended on behalf of the Ghana Government.

Freetown's position as a naval base was emphasized by the presence in the harbour of warships from Britain, United States, Ghana and Nigeria.

The Sierra Leone correspondent of *West Africa* (May 6) wrote: "As so many are anxious about Sierra Leone's future, particularly as our independent Legislature's first act was to extend the emergency powers, it seems worth while reporting in some detail how Sir Milton sees our situation. In his major message to the people during the celebrations he called for service and hard work and particularly for greater voluntary effort. 'I ask you', he said, 'to deal fairly and honestly with your fellow men, to discourage lawlessness and to strive actively for peace, friendship and unity in our country.' He went on, 'I would like to make it clear that independence will not result in any sudden changes in our day to day life. Mining companies, missions, trade unions, hospitals, schools, and government departments, will all go on as before. The significant change is that we are now in complete control of our destiny and for the formulation of our external as well as our internal policies. I wish you all to be assured that we in Sierra Leone stand for world peace and for the freedom and prosperity of man everywhere. Sierra Leone is proud to be a member of the Commonwealth because this great family of nations has exactly the same aims."

"Of particular interest was the Prime Minister's message to trade unionists. He said: 'I look forward to a long period of mutual co-operation and understanding between the Sierra Leone Government and the Sierra Leone Council of Labour.'

"Over the past years we have supported and encouraged the growth of trade unions in our country because these are accepted as the best means of ensuring good relations between employers and employees and of securing the rights and desserts of trade union members. Much of what I have said before in this message applies with great force to trade unions. The Sierra Leone Government in the years to come will depend upon your co-operation and active assistance. You have an especial responsibility to maintain the high standards you have set in past years, to stand by the rules of procedure in the case of disputes, and to avoid conflicts which may be detrimental to the good of your country."

"Sierra Leone's new constitution provides for an Executive Legislative, Supreme Court, Court of Appeal, and Judicial and Public Service Commissions, in accordance with the agreement at the last constitutional conference in London.

"On citizenship the Constitution makes clear that every person who was born in the former Colony or Protectorate and on April 26 was a British citizen or British Protected Person, became a citizen of Sierra Leone on April 27.

"Fundamental human rights guaranteed by the Constitution include sanctity of life, liberty, and freedom of movement; the right to reside in any part of Sierra Leone; and immunity from expulsion."

Mr. Duncan Sandys announced on April 28 that Britain would continue to give Sierra Leone any aid, economic or technical, which its Government required and requested. He said that apart from nearly

£74 million which the British Government has promised as financial assistance over the next four years, the Colonial Development Corporation was joining with the Government here in setting up an investment and development company. He also hoped British industrial investment would be attracted to Sierra Leone, whose potentialities had not yet been fully studied. (*Guardian*, April 29.)

PAN-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Third All-African Peoples' Conference

THE Third All-African Peoples' Conference was held in Cairo from March 25 to 30, 1961. The previous two conferences had been held at Accra in December 1958, and at Tunis in January 1960.

The third conference discussed a very wide range of topics, as is shown by the resolutions adopted.

Neo-Colonialism

The Conference considered that neo-colonialism is the greatest threat of African countries that have newly won their independence or those approaching this status. Neo-colonialism was defined as the survival of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence in emerging countries which become the victims of an indirect and subtle form of domination by political, economic, social, military or technical means . . .

The Conference considered that such countries as the United States, Federal Germany, Israel, Britain, Belgium, Holland, South Africa, and France were the main perpetrators of neo-colonialism.

The Conference denounced the following manifestations of neo-colonialism in Africa:

- (a) Puppet governments represented by fabricated elections and based on some chiefs, reactionary elements, anti-popular politicians, big bourgeois compradors or corrupted civil or military functionaries;
- (b) Regrouping of states before or after independence by an imperial power in federation or communities linked to that imperial power;
- (c) Balkanization as a deliberate political fragmentation of states . . .;
- (d) Economic entrenchment of the colonial power . . .;
- (e) Direct monetary dependence . . .;
- (f) Military bases . . .

The agents of neo-colonialism were colonial embassies and missions serving as nerve centres of espionage and pressure . . .; so-called foreign and U.N. technical assistance which ill-advises and sabotages national development; military personnel (foreign) . . . who serve above all colonial interests; and the malicious propaganda controlled by imperial and colonial countries.

The Conference declared that its very reason for being was the mobilization of the African masses for the liberation of Africa and that it was firmly convinced that it is by intensifying this mobilization that Africa will find the most efficient way to fight neo-colonialism and to extract the last roots of imperialism.

The Conference urged all independent African states which still retain foreign military and para-military bases, to liquidate these bases as soon as possible, and it deplored the attitude of some independent African states who under the guise of neutrality, are passive even on vital matters affecting the whole of Africa, and who, by their passive activities in fact promote the cause of neo-colonialism. It called for the immediate launching of the All-African Trade Union Federation. . . .

The United Nations

"The Conference calls upon the independent African and other freedom-loving states to demand the reorganization of the general Secretariat and the revision of the U.N. Charter to conform with the present world situation."

The Congo

The Conference expressed its particular indignation at the savage assassination of Mr. Patrice Lumumba and noted that, by the meeting

of puppets at Tananarive, Madagascar, the imperialists "are attempting to apply their classical method of 'Divide and Rule'." The Conference considered that the only legitimate government of the indivisible Republic of the Congo, was that presided over by Mr. Gizenga. . . .

The Conference demanded the immediate punishment of those responsible for the murder of Prime Minister Lumumba and his companions . . . and demanded the dismissal of Dag Hammarskjöld.

Development

The Conference called for: An Inter-State Transport Co. (Land, Sea and Air) to facilitate exchanges between the African states; the creation of an African bank for investment; and the signing of multilateral customs and foreign exchange agreements in order to develop economic exchanges which would easily lead to the creation of a common African market.

Liberation of Dependent Peoples

The Conference welcomed the creation of an African Freedom Fund and the willingness of independent African states to contribute to this fund. It decided to give unanimous support to the provisional government of the Republic of Algeria . . . it condemned the present constitutional changes in Northern and Southern Rhodesia and demanded the immediate grant of independence of the two Rhodesias on the principle of one man one vote.

The Conference demanded that the South African Administration "quit the territory of South West Africa forthwith".

The Conference recommended to the Independent States of Africa to grant scholarships to the youth of the High Commission Territories, and demanded that Britain grant unconditional independence to the Territories immediately.

The Conference called on all Kenya leaders to work energetically and positively for Kenyatta's immediate release to come and lead his people in unity to complete independence.

The Conference called on the Afro-Asian Group in the U.N. to press for the earliest expulsion of South Africa from the U.N.

The Conference appeals to all independent African states and other freedom-loving countries to sever diplomatic relations with South Africa; close their ports to South African ships, and boycott South African goods.

GENERAL

Ghana, Guinea and Mali

A CHARTER which constitutes Ghana, Guinea, and Mali into a Union of African States and has provision for including other African states or federations has been signed in Accra by President Nkrumah, President Sékou Touré and President Modibo Keita. The agreement is subject to ratification by the Parliaments of the three Republics and was announced after the first quarterly meeting of the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union.

The communiqué making the announcement reaffirmed the support of the three Heads of State for the legal Government in the Congo under Mr. Gizenga. They also expressed their faith in the courageous struggle being carried out by the Algerian people to obtain full independence. They condemned the continuation by the French of nuclear tests on African soil. (*Ghana Today*, May 10.)

Transport in Africa

Co-ordination

In an article "The Co-ordination of Transport in Tropical Africa" (*Statistical and Economic Review*,¹ March 1961), it is pointed out that transport improvements absorb a large share of development funds in Africa. Up to 1959 they took "about 36 per cent of development expenditure in Nigeria and Ghana", and 64 per cent in the African countries of the French community between 1948 and 1952. Of the same £100 million of United Kingdom grants and loans to West and East Africa between 1946 and 1960 about a quarter was spent on communications. "Nearly all of

¹United Africa Co. publication.

the £62 million lent to African countries by the World Bank (I.B.R.D.) has gone towards improving or expanding transport facilities." A large part of the import costs in British East Africa and Nigeria, for example, is for transport equipment.

Competition and Co-ordination

Because responsibility for providing transport facilities lies with governments, not the transport operator, the governments make the investment decisions. These decisions are based, not on the sole economic aims of increased traffic and reduced costs, but on such social considerations as providing roads which will benefit pedestrian as well as driver, as opposed to railroads for use by trains only. The governments also regulate the degree of competition with forms of transport which they directly or indirectly own, like the railways. They restrict competition by licensing freight-carrying road vehicles (Kenya and Tanganyika); banning certain road traffic (timber in Ghana, 1959); or giving tax exemptions to railways on diesel oil (in Nigeria).

The author comments that, "True waste can occur when government protects one form of transport against another. This denies to the public the freedom to choose on a rational basis the means of transport best suited to their needs. Until all forms of transport are allowed to compete on an equitable basis—which also involves relieving publicly owned transport of obligations not borne by private competition—it is difficult for government to ask on economic grounds what intervention, if any, it should make in the day to day working of a country's transport system.

An early effort at government co-ordination of transport was the establishment in 1929 of a permanent committee for Transport Co-ordination in the Congo, to implement policy for the inter-dependent river, road and rail systems. An instance of more economic use of transport through inter-territorial co-operation was the amalgamation in 1947 of the separate systems of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda under the East African Railways and Harbours Administration. Also Nigeria has co-operated with the Tchad and Cameroun Republics; the French authorities with Gambia; and the Congo with Ruanda and British East Africa.

General Conclusion

Detailed continuous studies of transport are necessary if co-ordination is to be effective. Present and future transport needs should be assessed, as well as the true costs and advantages of each form of transport, and the comparative investment advantages of different transport projects.

When government uses its fiscal, administrative and investment powers, the main consideration should be the interests of the 100 million inhabitants of tropical Africa and the test of co-ordination should be whether it produces cheaper and/or more efficient services.

To ensure that traffic uses the lowest cost service, all forms of transport should be put on an equitable basis; charges, where possible, should reflect the cost of providing the service, and transport users should have the maximum freedom to choose the means of transport best suited to their requirements. Transport users themselves should play an important part in devising any co-ordination system.

"Those who regard co-ordination simply as a means of sharing out traffic are likely to be biased towards restrictive measures. Those who regard it as a means of expanding the total traffic will be attracted towards measures which give maximum play to the natural, and acquired advantages of all forms of transport."

Transport and Development in West Africa

The United Nations has published a report on transport in West Africa¹ which surveys the transport industries, the problems of costs and prices in the region, and transport policies. The importance of the West African Public Works conference in 1959 is emphasized because it was the first occasion on which fully accredited delegates from other than Commonwealth participated, and thus represented an important step forward in international transport in West Africa. President Nkrumah is quoted as saying: "We consider such roads (intra-regional) as essential to the development of our cultural as well as our economic relationship." This is a fairly recent development, and is to be welcomed, as owing to the isolation

in which the transport systems in the various territories developed there is a distinct lack of intra-regional links. Every West African country now intends to pursue a policy similar to that of Ghana.

Better communication raises the problem of maintenance. At the conference "It was agreed that considerable scope existed for a uniform method of presenting road maintenance costs . . . with a view to harmonizing the miles of roads maintained with population and number of vehicles registered."

Owing to political developments since the war, "Only now perhaps can one speak truthfully of a region, and regional problems are now emerging which may partially supplant former national ones. This is apparent above all in the transport field."

Lack of skilled workers is still fairly common in industry and transport in West Africa, so for some time the region will have to rely to some extent on technical assistance from abroad.

Improvements and Population

"Technical improvements profoundly affect the traditional patterns of production and living in native villages . . . improved transport facilities may, by making commercial crops suitable in certain areas, help to curtail off-season migration and enable present migrant workers to earn a permanent living in their home country. Again, new secondary roads may so help to increase production in a particular area that it can offer permanent livelihood to surplus population from over-populated districts, e.g. the overcrowded Kabré of northern Togo, some of whom could be settled in the coffee and cocoa districts in the south-west if secondary roads fostered increased production."

However, "the impact of transport improvements . . . may not be immediately apparent. The population concerned are almost invariably conservative and tied by habit in production, trade and transport." Should "the construction of a railway (or) a trunk road to 'open up the country' be thought to imply a change in productive methods or a need to find a new set of customers, there might well be some opposition to the innovation from both farmers and retail traders. The latter for example may be

¹Document E/CN.14/63, December 1960.

Obliged to reorganize their business; they may find they need to borrow more; and they may gradually begin to lose their independence by having to take more partners into the business . . . a slower tempo and less ambitious plans may yield better and more reliable results, for instance, if

improvements are limited to the mere up-grading of bush-paths to dry-weather roads. Even at best, transport improvements are expensive, and they must therefore be put in proper perspective against the background of the economic resources of the area concerned."

The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents

AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

IT has been a busy period with many visitors from Africa. Press conferences have been arranged for members of the Kenya African National Union, Mr. James Gichuru, Mr. Tom Mboya and Mr. Mbiti Mati. These conferences were well attended and widely reported in the Press.

Brief talks were held with Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, president of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, when he was in London recently, and a Press conference was organized for him by U.N.I.P. representatives in London.

Mr. Paul Semogerere, M.L.C., from Uganda met members of the Bureau staff when he visited London shortly after his election to the central legislature of Uganda. He is a member of the Democratic Party led by Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, Chief Minister of Uganda.

The Rev. Michael Scott paid a short visit to Oslo and has spoken at several meetings in Britain, including the Anti-Apartheid Movement's rally in Trafalgar Square, in memory of those who died at Sharpeville and Langa.

Miss Mary Benson is visiting South Africa and expects to be away for several months. She has visited Guy and Molly Clutton Brock in Bechuanaland where they are working on an agricultural development scheme with the Bamangwato people.

Many people have been helping the staff of the Bureau in organizing the all-star variety show at the Victoria Palace on June 2. Proceeds will be in aid of the Bureau and a report of the occasion will be included in our next "Activities".

The secretary has addressed meetings in the London area and attended a conference organized by the One World Trust on "Opportunities for International Co-operation" as a representative of the Africa Bureau.

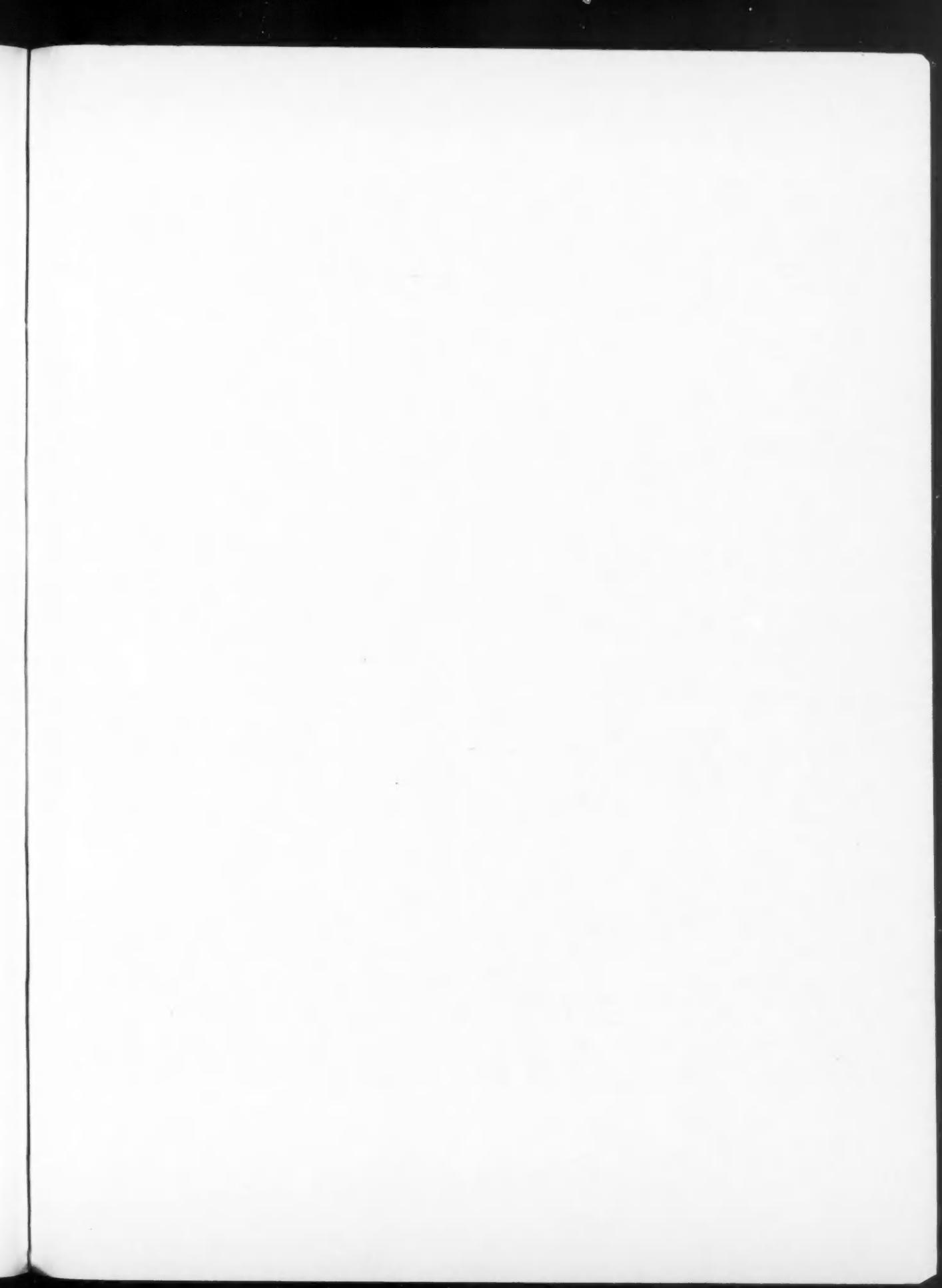
We are very grateful for the donations and books received for the Mary Attlee Memorial Library, and the Library Committee will soon be writing to all members of Racial Unity and the Africa Bureau explaining the services offered by the Library.

THE AFRICA BUREAU

65 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1 (Tate Gallery 0701)

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7